MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

VOL. 5, NO. 1 FEBRUARY, 1923

FUR-TRADE NUMBER

THE FUR TRADE IN MINNESOTA DURING THE BRITISH REGIME . . . . . Wayne E. Stevens 3

THE STORY OF THE GRAND PORTAGE . . Solon J. Buck 14

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS 28

A Description of Northern Minnesota by a Fur-trader in 1807

THE INFORMATION BUREAU 40

Slavery in Minnesota; Early Drama in Minneapolis; Ramsey's Early Church Connections; The Boundary at the Lake of the Woods

REVIEWS OF BOOKS 48

Shortridge, *The Transition of a Typical Frontier;* Whitney, *Maria Sanford; Year-Book of the Swedish Historical Society*

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES . . . 56

NEWS AND COMMENT 67

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SAINT PAUL

Entered as second-class matter March 29, 1923, at the post office at St. Paul, Minnesota

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Officers

FREDERIC A. FOGG, *President*
WILLIAM W. FOLWELL, *First Vice President*
FREDERICK G. INGERSOLL, *Second Vice President*
SOLON J. BUCK, *Secretary*
EVERETT H. BAILEY, *Treasurer*

Executive Council

Ex Officio

JACOB A. O. PREUS
Governor

LOUIS L. COLLINS
Lieutenant Governor

MIKE HOLM
Secretary of State

RAY P. CHASE
State Auditor

HENRY RINES
State Treasurer

CLIFFORD L. HILTON
Attorney-General

Elected

CLARENCE W. ALVORD
EVERETT H. BAILEY
JOHN M. BRADFORD
SOLON J. BUCK
REV. WILLIAM BUSCH
LORIN CRAY
WILLIAM W. CUTLER
BURT W. EATON
FREDERIC A. FOGG
WILLIAM W. FOLWELL
GUY STANTON FORD
MRS. CHARLES E. FURNESS
HAROLD HARRIS
FREDERICK G. INGERSOLL
GIDEON S. IVES
HERSCHEL V. JONES
VICTOR E. LAWSON
WILLIAM H. LIGHTNER
WILLIAM A. MCGONAGLE
MRS. JAMES T. MORRIS
VICTOR ROBERTSON
EDWARD P. SANBORN
JAMES H. SKINNER
CHARLES STEES
JOHN R. SWANN
WARREN UPHAM
WILLIS M. WEST
OLIN D. WHEELER
EDWARD B. YOUNG

The MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN is published quarterly in February, May, August, and November, and is distributed free to members of the Minnesota Historical Society. Correspondence concerning contributions, exchanges, and books for review may be sent to the superintendent of the society, St. Paul. A list of the publications of the society will be found on the inside back cover.

MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN

VOL. 5, NO. 1
WHOLE NO. 29
FEBRUARY, 1923

THE FUR TRADE IN MINNESOTA DURING THE BRITISH REGIME [1]

There was nothing, broadly speaking, peculiar to or characteristic of the fur trade of the region now included in the boundaries of the state of Minnesota which was not also characteristic of the region of the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi River. The title of the present paper, therefore, while perhaps appropriate on the occasion of a meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, may suggest an idea or a conception which it is best to avoid from the outset: namely, the notion that a modern state, Minnesota or any other, is a logical or natural geographical unit on which to base a study of the early fur trade. The region must be pictured as it was during the British régime without reference either to modern political boundaries or to present-day lines of communication. In short, the territory lying west of the Great Lakes was a part of a geographic and economic entity, and in dealing with it one must consider not the state of Minnesota alone, but rather a more extensive region of which the area now included in the state was an important part.

It should be explained that the British régime is regarded as the period from 1763 to 1815, during which the influence of British traders was paramount in the Northwest. The British régime had been preceded by the French period, which lasted from the earliest explorations until the conquest of Canada in 1763. It was followed by the American period which began after the close of the War of 1812 and ended gradually with the movement of the fur-trader's frontier westward.

The most interesting and significant aspects of the Northwest fur trade during the British régime can be understood

[1] Read at the state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society at Duluth, July 28, 1922.

only by a careful examination of the map. The region of the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi might be entered from two directions: first, from the east by way of the St. Lawrence River system; second, from the south by way of the Mississippi. Of these two routes, the northern proved more convenient and was certainly much more important in the history of the fur trade. The location and distribution of fur-bearing animals made Canada and the city of Montreal more important in the early development of the fur trade than southern Louisiana and New Orleans. It was said in the days when Rome flourished that all roads led to the Imperial City. It may be said with equal truth that in the days of the early fur trade, all trails in the empire of the Northwest led to Montreal. The post of Michilimackinac was a sort of half-way station on the route from Montreal to the upper Mississippi, and might be reached either by following the Great Lakes or the Ottawa River and Lake Nipissing. The region of the upper Mississippi might be reached from Michilimackinac by one of two routes: first, by way of Lake Superior and the St. Croix River; second, by way of Lake Michigan and the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. It was possible to penetrate the wilderness west of the Mississippi by the Minnesota River, or the St. Peter's, as it then was called. Traders resorting to the Canadian Northwest took the Grand Portage route. The communications from Montreal to the Northwest were controlled at two or three strategic points, chief of which were Detroit, Michilimackinac, and Grand Portage. Perhaps Prairie du Chien might also be included.

During the French period, the upper Mississippi was on the outer confines of the territory regularly visited by white men. The fur trade of this region was a part of the great prize contended for by the English and French during the intercolonial wars, though none of the fighting actually took place there. It was not in the wilderness, but rather in the heart of Canada that the French cause was lost and with it the peltry trade. The capture of Quebec in 1759 and the sur-

render of Montreal in 1760 delivered the economic as well as the political control of the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi into the hands of the British. True, the territory west of the Mississippi was ceded to Spain in 1763, but, owing to its geographical location, its trade was easily controlled by the British in spite of all efforts of the Spaniards to prevent this.

When the British had secured military and political control of the Northwest, their first act was to abolish the French system of monopolies and to open the trade to all comers. This meant the overthrow of the entire business organization which had been built up by French merchants in the days of the old régime. Henceforth the goods used in the Indian trade were to be imported from England and the furs for which they were exchanged were to find their way to London rather than to Paris. The commerce of the French merchants was automatically ruined and its control passed to their British competitors, who were swarming into the upper country even before the signing of the treaty of Paris. There were left in the Indian country, including the upper Mississippi, however, a great many *engagés* and small French traders who must either accommodate themselves to the new order of things or seek new fields of endeavor. The easy-going disposition of the French Canadian led him to choose the former alternative and the result was that when the British merchant entered the Northwest he found ready and waiting a large number of persons skilled in certain processes of the fur trade who entered his employ and constituted an invaluable asset to his business organization. The system of trading posts which had been erected in the interior by the French was also at the disposal of the British when they arrived.

The zeal of the British merchants who flocked into the Northwest was temporarily checked in 1763 by the Indian rising known as the conspiracy of Pontiac. Traders at Michilimackinac and smaller posts scattered throughout the interior were plundered and murdered. The outbreak was suppressed

in the following year, however, and there was a second rush of traders into the region formerly occupied by the French. These men were of English, Scotch, Irish, and Yankee descent. Most of them were actuated by motives of gain and by love of adventure, but some had been obliged to leave their homes for other and more urgent reasons. From the conquest of Canada until the time of the American Revolution the private trader held sway. Some of these men were of extremely shady character and Lieutenant Governor Hamilton, commandant of Detroit, tells us that the very name of "trader" had become a synonym for "artfull cheat." Of all the traders who visited the region west of the Great Lakes during this period, none is more interesting than Peter Pond, a Connecticut Yankee who visited the region of the upper Minnesota in the winter of 1773 and 1774. He journeyed from Albany to the upper country by way of Montreal and Michilimackinac. From the latter post he proceeded to the Mississippi by way of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. After a brief stop at Prairie du Chien he ascended the Mississippi as far as the Minnesota. Pushing up the Minnesota he wintered among the Indians and, as he says, "We Did our bisnes to advantage." Pond has left an account of his travels which is one of the most fascinating narratives dealing with the early fur trade. He spelled phonetically, but he was a most keen judge of human nature and he was not without a subtle sense of humor. [2]

The outbreak of the Revolution had little direct effect upon the fur trade of the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi. It has already been shown that control of this region depended upon the possession of a few strategic posts. The British succeeded in holding these posts during the war and with them the control of the Indians and the fur trade. British supremacy in the Northwest tottered momentarily when an expedition under General Montgomery captured Montreal in 1775.

[2] The "Journal of Peter Pond" is published as one of a series of sources on the "British Regime in Wisconsin" in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 18: 314–354 (Madison, 1908). It was first printed in the *Connecticut Magazine*, 10: 239–259 (April, May, June, 1906).

But the Americans were obliged to withdraw and the Canadian fur-traders breathed freely once more. The invasion of the Illinois country by George Rogers Clark next threatened the security of the British traders. Certain of them were driven in from the outposts, but British garrisons still retained the principal strongholds of Michilimackinac and Detroit. The capture of either of these posts would almost certainly have obliged the British traders to withdraw from the upper Mississippi, but such a project was too much for the military resources of the Americans. There was one respect, however, in which the British traders were somewhat seriously hampered. The military authorities feared lest supplies and ammunition intended for the fur trade might fall into the hands of Clark's men and their Indian allies and be used against the British garrisons. The situation was complicated by the fact that the loyalty of some of the petty traders, particularly the French Canadians, was not above question. The result was that the transport of supplies into the Northwest was put under stringent regulation and in some instances prohibited altogether. Certain traders at Detroit and Michilimackinac were refused permission to go into the interior at all. But this temporary inconvenience was more than offset by the fact that rival Yankee traders were completely excluded from the Northwest and the Canadian merchants had full sway. During the Revolution they laid the foundations of a monopoly in the Great Lakes region which they retained until the close of the War of 1812.

The English and Scotch merchants who entered the Northwest during the British régime have seldom been surpassed in shrewdness, energy, and business ability. Their vigor and initiative are attested by the remarkable growth of the fur industry between 1763 and 1796. From their headquarters at Montreal, Detroit, and Michilimackinac, they pushed down into the Illinois country and wintered in the wilderness west of the Mississippi, while some of them penetrated far into the country beyond Lake Superior. Hundreds of thousands

of pelts of many varieties were carried annually out of this vast range of territory. They included beaver, marten, otter, mink, muskrat, raccoon, bear, and cat. Their annual value probably fell not far short of two hundred thousand pounds sterling, perhaps more than a million dollars according to present-day standards.

Many interesting questions arise when one comes to consider the nature of the fur industry. What kinds of goods were used by the traders? What was done with the furs received from the Indians? How was the business organized?

There were three commodities which were an indispensable part of the outfit of every trader who penetrated the Minnesota wilderness — rum, firearms, and ammunition. Of the three, rum was probably in greatest demand. It acted as a lubricant in the conduct of the trader's business. It commanded a high price in furs, besides helping the Indian to see the force of the trader's arguments. The only concern of the trader was to avoid personal injury in the carousal which usually followed the dispensing of the coveted fire water. Arms and ammunition were needed by the Indians for the hunt — in other words they constituted the tools of their trade. It was apparent that the sale of liquor, arms, and ammunition might be abused, and so it was the policy of the British authorities for a period of several years to require an accurate statement of the quantities of these goods carried into the upper country. Merchants were obliged to take out licenses and to give security for their good conduct before their cargoes were permitted to leave the posts. In addition to the articles which have been mentioned, most traders carried with them an assortment of "dry goods," obviously so designated to distinguish them from rum or "wet goods." These included scores of articles, some useful and others not, ranging from needles and kettles to earrings and cocked hats. The Indian had a fondness for variety in the matter of wearing apparel. Everyone is familiar with the conventional portrait of the Indian— a figure of much dignity, robed in skins or blankets, and

adorned with vermilion, wampum, and eagle's feathers. The writer often has wished that some historically-minded artist might depict him as he must have appeared after a visit from a white trader. Some of the articles mentioned in the trader's invoices are striped calico shirts (strange to say, there is never any mention of trousers), cocked hats, shoulder epaulettes, and military coats. It is only reasonable to suppose that the Indians purchased these articles to wear. The portrait of the dignified warrior should, therefore, be revised and he may be pictured upon state occasions dressed in a cocked hat, a calico shirt, and perhaps a pair of brass epaulettes, but minus trousers. Some of the wealthier Indians probably varied this costume by the addition of a long-tailed, lace-trimmed coat. Their sense of the fitness of things seems to have equaled that of one of their descendants in the Oklahoma oil fields, who, having decided to purchase an automobile, selected a huge motor hearse and drove off in proud state with his family.

It is interesting to study the disposition of the furs secured from the Indians in return for the goods just described. Most of the pelts found their way sooner or later by one of the routes mentioned to Michilimackinac or Detroit. There they were sorted and packed in bales and shipped down to Montreal, either in canoes by way of the Ottawa River, the quicker method, or in sailing vessels by way of the Great Lakes. At Montreal, after being checked and sorted a second time, they were loaded on ships which sailed alone or in convoys to London. The center of the world's fur trade during the British régime was the city of London, where were held annually great fur auctions which were attended by buyers from continental Europe, especially from Germany and Russia. Many of the furs offered for sale at these auctions found Russian buyers and were carried to St. Petersburg. Some of them were sold in China, being carried overland across Siberia from St. Petersburg in caravans. The scope of the fur trade was truly world-wide.

Since the principal markets for furs were found in foreign countries, it is not surprising that the trade should have been affected by wars and other international complications. The price of furs in the Minnesota wilderness was directly affected by Napoleon's continental blockade and the British orders in council. What a boon the telegraph or radio would have been to the trader in the Indian country! As it was, his friends and business associates in Montreal and London did their best to keep him informed with regard to the fluctuations of the market. The correspondence of the period is filled with advice not to buy this or that variety of furs except at a very low price, in view of the state of the market.

The conventional portrait of the fur-trader is that of a man in buckskin shirt and raccoon cap, dispensing fire water and trinkets at first hand to gullible savages in return for ten times their value in furs. But there were hundreds of persons connected with the fur trade who never entered the wilderness at all. There were big London firms which forwarded goods to Canada and managed the auctions which have been described. There were large concerns at Montreal which handled the goods imported from London and forwarded the furs received from the upper country. There were smaller firms or private traders at Michilimackinac and Detroit who imported goods from Montreal and made up outfits which, in turn, were supplied to the traders who bartered with the Indians among the tributaries of the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi.

Almost the entire fur industry was based upon credit. The London firms sent goods to the commission merchants of Montreal on credit. These merchants forwarded them to Detroit and Michilimackinac upon the same terms. Outfits were made up and carried into the wilderness of the upper Mississippi, still on credit. Credit was in many cases the basis of the trader's dealings with the Indians. The goods which have been described as a part of the trader's outfit were not given directly to the Indians in exchange for furs. Instead, the trader

went to the camp of his particular Indian clients in the fall and advanced to them a certain quantity of arms and ammunition with perhaps some steel traps and small tools and implements, keeping a careful record of the transaction. The Indians then departed for their winter hunting grounds and the trader perhaps saw no more of them until spring. In the spring, if all went well, they returned to their rendezvous, bringing with them the results of the season's hunt. The trader was on hand to meet them and to receive the furs which they carried in from the wintering ground. If they equalled in amount the credit which he had extended in the autumn, all well and good. If they did not, it was his loss which he could only hope to make good at some future time. Occasionally a rival trader waylaid the Indians coming in from the wintering grounds, plied them with fire water, and cajoled them into giving up the returns of the season's hunt. In that case, the first trader got nothing. Again, the Indians might decide of their own accord not to return to the trader who had given them credit, but to carry their furs to another post. This pleasant custom was known as "stealing credits," and was apt to be a constant source of worry to the trader. But taking into account the fact that there was little or no legal authority in the Indian country, there was surprisingly little loss from such causes. The Indians as a rule fulfilled their obligations.

When the ice had cleared from the rivers in the spring and the trader had collected his peltries from the Indians, he carried them to one of the larger posts. He turned over his furs to the merchant who had advanced his outfit in the fall and received credit on the books of the latter. At times he might decide to forward the furs on his own account to Montreal, in which case the merchant to whom he was indebted perhaps acted as an agent, receiving a commission for his services. When the furs were received in Montreal, the firms in that city forwarded them to London to balance their accounts with the merchants located there. Two years, as a rule, and often an even longer period elapsed between the time when

the goods were forwarded from London and the time when the furs for which they were exchanged could be received and the accounts settled.

The canny English and Scotch traders who operated in the Northwest during the years following the Revolution soon came to realize the advantages of combination and organization, not only as a means of reducing competition, but as a means of facilitating the conduct of the business. The result was that trading companies began to appear in the field. Some of them were only small concerns and disappeared after a short time. Others were large and powerful and were backed by the strongest financial interests of Canada and the Northwest. The three most important companies which operated in the upper Mississippi country during the period of British influence were the Northwest, Michilimackinac, and Southwest companies. The American Fur Company arose after the War of 1812, when John Jacob Astor became prominent in the field. It is interesting to note that in 1811 the Michilimackinac and Northwest companies decided by mutual consent to limit the field of their respective operations in the upper Mississippi Valley. Accordingly, they drew up articles of agreement establishing a line passing through northern Wisconsin and Minnesota, south of which the Michilimackinac Company should enjoy a virtual monopoly and north of which the Northwest Company should hold sway. Probably these companies were Minnesota's earliest monopolies. They ruled their respective spheres of influence with an iron hand and did not hesitate to drive out private traders by violent means if persuasion failed.

The surrender of the Northwest posts in 1796 weakened but did not destroy the hold of the British traders upon the region of the upper Mississippi and the Great Lakes. Their influence continued to be paramount until the close of the War of 1812. It must not be supposed that they met with no opposition in the enjoyment of their monopoly. After the Revolution, but before the surrender of the posts, American

traders had tried desperately to push their way in, but without success. The economic and political advantages of their rivals were too great. The Spanish authorities also endeavored at various times to exclude the British from the territory beyond the upper Mississippi. Decrees were issued warning British traders to keep off the Spanish preserves. Carondelet, governor of Louisiana, recommended in 1794 that a fort be built at the mouth of the Minnesota to keep them out. Such decrees and threats did not disturb the equanimity of the British in the least and the Spanish officials fumed in vain. To have kept the British trader's rum out of Spanish territory would have taxed the ingenuity and resourcefulness of a modern federal prohibition officer. It was the energy and initiative of the British trader which in a large measure determined the character of the history of the Northwest from 1763 to 1815 and made the history of the region really the history of the fur trade.

WAYNE E. STEVENS

DARTMOUTH COLLEGE
HANOVER, NEW HAMPSHIRE

THE STORY OF THE GRAND PORTAGE[1]

Modern map-makers have the disagreeable habit, in the interest of economy, of dismembering the state of Minnesota and depicting the northeastern corner separately on a little inset map. Few people today realize that this little triangle of land, so cavalierly treated by our draughtsmen, was during many years the scene of more human activities than took place in all the rest of the state; that more than thirty years before the founding of Fort Snelling, which we are wont to look upon as the real beginning of Minnesota history, upwards of a thousand white men were assembled year after year at a post within this area; and that here occurred the only military operations of the American Revolution within the borders of the state.

The explanation of the importance of this region is to be sought in the realm of geography. The Pigeon River, which now forms the international boundary at Lake Superior, was, in the days of water transportation, the best natural highway between the Great Lakes or the St. Lawrence system and the great northwestern section of the continent, with its thousands of lakes and streams draining into Hudson Bay or the Arctic Ocean. But the Pigeon River, through the last twenty miles of its course before it flows into Lake Superior, is so obstructed by falls and by cascades in rocky canyons as to be impossible of navigation. On the Canadian side the land is too mountainous and the distance too great for portaging to be practicable; but on the American side the line of the lake shore is roughly parallel to the river, and about seven or eight miles from the mouth of the river a little bay forms a natural

[1] Read at the state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society at Duluth, July 28, 1922. The writer desires to acknowledge the assistance of Miss Mary E. Wheelhouse and Miss Livia Appel of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society in the assembling of the materials on which this paper is based.

harbor from which a portage of about nine miles over not too difficult country can be made to the Pigeon River above the cascades.

That this *Grand Portage* or great carrying place, as it was early designated by the French, was used by the Indians for generations before the advent of white men in the region is almost a certainty, although apparently not susceptible of proof. When and under what circumstances the first white man crossed the portage and who he was are questions which cannot now be answered. Nor do we know who was the first white man to visit the little bay at the eastern end of the trail, which takes its name from the portage. Radisson and Groseilliers are believed to have reached the north shore of Lake Superior in 1660, but it is not likely that they went as far east as Grand Portage.[2] Du Luth coasted along the north shore in 1679 and established there a fort or trading post, the location of which is generally believed to have been near what is now Fort William, about thirty miles northeast of Grand Portage. Some writers assert that this post was located at Grand Portage and was thus the first establishment of white men in Minnesota, but the evidence in the main is against this interpretation. It is highly probable, however, that Du Luth or some of his men entered the bay at Grand Portage, and they may have traversed the portage itself. Fort Kaministiquia, as Du Luth's post was called, was maintained for several years, then was abandoned, and was reëstablished in 1717. That the traders who made this their headquarters failed to discover and make use of the Grand Portage is unbelievable.[3]

[2] Warren Upham, "Groseilliers and Radisson," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 506, 513 (part 2). Reuben G. Thwaites in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 11: 96, n., interprets a sentence in Radisson's narrative as a reference to the Grand Portage. See also Lawrence J. Burpee, *The Search for the Western Sea*, lvi, 212, 307, n. (Toronto, 1908).

[3] William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1: 23, 44 (St. Paul, 1921). A statement in a letter of a French officer written in 1722 with reference to the best route from Kaministiquia to the site of a proposed post in the interior is probably a reference to the Pigeon River route. See Pierre Margry, ed., *Découvertes et établissements des Français*, 6: 516 (Paris

The first white man to leave a record of the use of the portage, however, is the Sieur de la Vérendrye, who crossed it on his famous expedition along the boundary waters in 1731. In his account he calls it the Grand Portage and refers to it in such a way as to lead to the inference that it was already well known by that name.[4] From this time until the French and Indian War French traders were pushing constantly farther and farther into the great Northwest, and the indications are that practically all the traffic passed over the Grand Portage route. A post was undoubtedly established at the eastern end of the trail, where the goods destined for the trade were landed from the large canoes used on the lake and prepared for the nine-mile carry to the Pigeon River.[5] At the western end of the trail, where the goods were loaded into smaller canoes suitable for river transportation, some sort of shelter probably was erected during the French period, but of this no information has been found. During the last conflict between the French and the English in America, which terminated with the surrender of Canada in 1760, the trade on Lake Superior and westward appears to have been abandoned, and the Indians were forced to resort to the posts of the Hudson's Bay Company far to the north or to get along without white man's goods.[6]

1886); Warren Upham, in *Minnesota in Three Centuries,* 1:276 (New York, 1908); and Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea,* 202.

[4] Margry, *Découvertes,* 6:586, 591.

[5] Sir Alexander Mackenzie, in his *Voyages from Montreal through the Continent of North America,* viii (Philadelphia, 1802), refers to "the Grande Portage, where the French had a principal establishment, and was the line of their communication with the interior country. It was once destroyed by fire." Benjamin Sulte, in an article on "Early Forts in the North-West," dated 1919 and published in his *Mélanges historiques,* 10:139 (Montreal, 1922), says that "between 1718 and 1720 La Noue erected a fort at Grand Portage," but gives no indication of the evidence on which the statement is based.

[6] Mackenzie, *Voyages,* vi; Louis F. Masson, "Esquisse Historique," in his *Les bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest,* 1:9 (Quebec, 1889); Alexander Henry, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories,* 195 (New York, 1809); Gordon C. Davidson, *The North West Com-*

In November, 1761, a British garrison took possession of the post at Michilimackinac or Mackinac between Lakes Michigan and Huron. Shortly before this, however, one Alexander Henry, who had outfitted at Albany, New York, arrived at the post prepared to engage in the Indian trade on the upper lakes, and soon after other English traders made their appearance in the vicinity. If a narrative written nearly sixty years afterward is reliable, a party of these traders, accompanied by a military escort, made its way through Lake Superior to Grand Portage in May, 1762, this being the first voyage through Lake Superior under the British flag. This, if true, would indicate that Grand Portage was recognized at this time as the most important place in the western part of Lake Superior. The Indians of the Northwest, however, did not welcome the substitution of the English for the French; in 1763 the post of Mackinac was surprised, the garrison was massacred, one of the traders was killed, and the others were taken captive. This outbreak, which was a part of the conspiracy of Pontiac, put an end to British attempts at trade in the Northwest until the close of the Indian war in 1765.[7]

In that year Alexander Henry began trading operations at Chequamegon Bay, on the southern shore of Lake Superior, whence he dispatched an agent with some Indians to Fond du Lac; and in a year or two traders were established at various places around the lake and were making their way over the Grand Portage to the old French posts in the interior.[8] When Jonathan Carver, in 1767, found himself stranded on the upper Mississippi for lack of supplies, which he had expected to get from traders at Prairie du Chien, he determined to go to Lake Superior "in hopes of meeting at the Grand Portage . . . the traders that annually go from Michilimack-

pany, 33 (University of California, *Publications in History*, vol. 7 — Berkeley, 1918); Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 53.

[7] Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, part 1; "Thompson Maxwell's Narrative — 1760–1763," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 11: 215.

[8] Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, 192–196; Mackenzie, *Voyages*, viii; Davidson, *North West Company*, 34.

inac to the northwest; of whom I doubted not but that I should be able to procure goods enough to answer my purpose." Arriving at Grand Portage in July, Carver found about three hundred Indians assembled there "to meet the traders from Michilimackinac, who make this their road to the Northwest." The Indians received him kindly, gave him much information about the lakes and streams of the interior, and entertained him with a marvelous incantation and a prophecy, which was promptly fulfilled. Finally the traders arrived, but Carver was unable to procure from them the supplies which he needed for the continuance of his explorations and so he made his way eastward through Lake Superior. Carver makes no mention of any post at Grand Portage and from his narrative it is evident that at that time the place was occupied only intermittently. [9]

Alexander Henry made his first trip to the country west of Lake Superior in 1775. Arriving at Grand Portage on June 28, he "found the traders in a state of extreme reciprocal hostility, each pursuing his interests in such a manner as might most injure his neighbour. The consequences were very hurtful to the morals of the Indians." The transportation of Henry's goods across the portage was "a work of seven days of severe and dangerous exertion." [10]

The rapid increase in the trade by way of Grand Portage is indicated by a memorandum drawn up by General Haldimand in January, 1778. At that time it amounted annually to forty thousand pounds and employed five hundred persons, who, "for about a month in the summer season, have a general rendezvous at the Portage, and for the refreshing and comforting those who are employed in the more distant voyages the Traders from hence have built tolerable Houses; and in order to cover them from any insult from the numerous savage Tribes, who resort there during that time, have made

[9] Jonathan Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768*, 93, 106 (London, 1778).

[10] Henry, *Travels and Adventures*, 238.

stockades around them." The memorandum goes on to state that there was some jarring of interests at Grand Portage and that from the lack of officers representing the government in the region the traders had found it necessary to provide some show and parade such as the firing of cannon to signalize the arrival of the brigades and the distribution of medals — the purpose of this being to impress the Indians. [11]

The antagonisms among traders representing separate interests, possible dangers from the Indians, and above all the fear that disaffected persons at the portage might send supplies to the American troops then operating in the Illinois country were the reasons for the sending of a military expedition from Mackinac to Grand Portage about June 1, 1778. On May 18 John Askin, the commissary at Mackinac, wrote to M. Beausoleille, the clerk of the Northwest traders at Grand Portage, to inform him that he would have "an officer and several soldiers to pass the summer" there, and to direct him to have a house, equipped with a chimney, ready to receive them. The letter concludes with the following remarkable sentences, of which no explanation will be attempted: "I need two pretty Slave girls from 9 to 16 years old. Have the goodness to ask the Gentlemen to procure two for me." The officer detailed for duty at this northwesternmost point of British military operations during the Revolution was Lieutenant Thomas Bennett of the Eighth Regiment of Foot, and his detachment consisted of about twelve soldiers. Their operations at Grand Portage included the construction of a small fort, at the expense of the traders, and possibly the laying out of a road across the portage. Apparently they left in the fall, for the next year the traders petitioned for another detachment. Major De Peyster, in command at Mackinac, protested that, in view of the imminent danger of his being attacked by the rebels, he could not spare the troops; and no evidence has been found as to whether or not they were sent. [12]

[11] *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, 19: 337–339.

[12] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 11: 142, 19: 237, 239, 243; *Michi-*

By this time the Northwest trade had grown to such proportions and the competition between different interests was resulting in so many abuses that movements were under way for consolidation; and, after several preliminary "joint stocks," the famous Northwest Company was organized in 1783.[13] The next twenty years comprise the greatest period in the history of the Grand Portage. The Northwest Company had a fort or stockade on the bay, which consisted of an enclosure of palisades twenty-four by thirty rods in size. The buildings within the fort, according to a contemporary description, were "sixteen in number made with cedar and white spruce fir split with whip saws after being squared, the Roofs are covered with Shingles of Cedar and Pine, most of their posts, Doors and windows, are painted with Spanish brown. Six of these buildings are Store Houses for the company's Merchandise and Furs, &c., the rest are dwelling houses shops compting house and Mess House — they have also a wharf or quay for their vessels to unload and Load."[14] The company had a vessel of ninety-five tons burden which made four or five trips to Grand Portage each summer. In the bay was a large canoe yard where seventy canoes were constructed annually for use in the trade.[15]

During July and August, Grand Portage was a very busy place. Here the brigades from Montreal, with goods for the trade of the ensuing winter, accompanied by two of the Montreal partners, met the wintering partners and other traders

gan Pioneer and Historical Collections, 9:356; 19:345, 372; Davidson, *North West Company*, 28. Davidson states that a detachment was stationed at Grand Portage "in 1777 and succeeding years."

[13] Davidson, *North West Company*, 8–14.

[14] Anonymous journal of 1793 in the Masson Papers in the library of McGill University, Montreal, quoted in Davidson, *North West Company*, 237. A somewhat different version of parts of this document is in Burpee, *Search for the Western Sea*, 306. For other descriptions of the post, see Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xliii; Daniel W. Harmon, *A Journal of Voyages and Travels*, 40 (Andover, 1820); and George Heriot, *Travels through the Canadas*, 203 (London, 1807).

[15] Heriot, *Travels*, 204.

coming in from their posts scattered throughout the Northwest from the upper Red River to Lake Athabasca. Here was held the annual meeting of the company, at which arrangements were made and agreements entered into for the ensuing year. Here the employees received, and largely spent, their annual wages. The partners, traders, clerks, and guides, to the number of two or three hundred lived in the fort and ate in the great dining hall, and outside were the camps of the pork-eaters and the winterers, as the canoemen from Montreal and the interior respectively were called. These *engagés* subsisted principally upon pork and hominy, with plentiful supplies of liquor and tobacco; but the food served in the dining hall included bread, salt pork, beef, ham, fish, venison, butter, peas, corn, potatoes, tea, and wine. There was even plenty of milk, for a herd of cows was kept at Grand Portage. In the evenings the great hall was often the scene of much merriment, and interesting accounts may be read of festive balls at which the dusky maidens of the forest are reported to have danced very well and to have conducted themselves with much propriety. Besides the resident Indians, many others congregated about the fort during the summer.[16]

The task of transporting the packs of supplies and furs across the portage was a long and arduous one and required the services of a hundred men for several weeks. Parts of the trail were often in very bad condition being "knee-deep in mud and clay, and so slippery as to make walking tedious." The packs

[16] Masson, *Bourgeois*, 2:466, 480; Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xliii–xlv; Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 41–43; Heriot, *Travels*, 204; Davidson *North West Company*, 22, 204, 230; William W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 5:379. See also the "Accounts of the Fur-trade, extracted from the journal of Count Andriani of Milan, who travelled in the interior parts of America in the year 1791," in the Duke de la Rochefoucault Liancourt, *Travels through the United States of North America, the Country of the Iroquois, and Upper Canada, in the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797*, 1:325–334 (London, 1799). The statements are here made that "a fort . . . garrisoned with fifty men" was maintained at Grand Portage and that "in this place there is frequently a concourse of one thousand people and upward."

weighed ninety pounds each and two or more were carried by the men on their backs, the round trip of eighteen miles requiring about six hours. How many thousands of trips back and forth across this trail were made during the entire period, it is impossible to estimate, but it is small wonder that the soil still shows evidences of the trampling of many feet. In 1788 the company requested a grant of land along the route to enable it to construct a wagon road over the trail. The request was denied by the council at Quebec, probably because it would have given the company a monopoly of the route, but later on the trail was improved so that ox-carts could be used on it. [17]

At the western end of the portage, where it met the Pigeon River, was another stockade enclosing several buildings, which was known as Fort Charlotte. Here the goods were stored until the traders were ready to load them into their canoes and start for the wintering grounds. Of the history of this fort little has been ascertained as yet, but it evidently was a place of considerable importance for many years. [18]

The Northwest Company was not able to maintain a complete monopoly over the trade which passed across the Grand Portage. Rival companies were established from time to time, usually to flourish a few years and then amalgamate with "the Great Company." One of these rivals, the X. Y. Company, which operated from 1797 to 1804, had a separate establishment at Grand Portage and also, probably, at Fort Charlotte, for the map drawn by the surveyors for the boundary com-

[17] Alexander Henry, the younger, in Elliott Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, 1:6 (New York, 1897); Mackenzie, *Voyages*, xlii; Henry Y. Hind, *Narrative of the Canadian Red River Exploring Expedition of 1857*, 1:74 (London, 1860); George Bryce, *Mackenzie, Selkirk, Simpson*, 12 (*The Makers of Canada*, vol. 8, Parkman edition — Toronto, 1909); Davidson, *North West Company*, 23, 49, n., 204, 211, 231. For an account of the method of carrying over portages see John Johnston in Masson, *Bourgeois*, 2:165.

[18] Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 43; Henry, in Coues, *New Light*, 1:6; Heriot, *Travels*, 205.

mission in 1824 indicates the outlines of two stockades at the western end of the portage. [19]

At the very beginning of this period of the greatest activity on the Grand Portage, the land over which it ran became, by virtue of the treaty of 1783, a part of the United States. The boundary, as laid down in the treaty, was somewhat indefinite, but it was generally understood by the traders that it had been fixed at the Pigeon River. So long as the military posts on the American side of the line in the Great Lakes region remained in the hands of the British, there was little likelihood that the traders would be disturbed; and those posts, for reasons which need not be considered here, were not surrendered until 1796. Soon after the occupation of Mackinac by an American garrison, however, intimations were given to the traders that a revenue officer might be sent to Grand Portage to collect duty on the great quantity of goods being imported there into the United States. As a result of this threat, and also, perhaps, of a desire to avoid the difficulties of the long carrying place, the Northwest Company began casting about for another route to the interior. In 1798 the Kaministiquia route, by way of Dog Lake to the boundary waters, was discovered, or rediscovered, for it had been known to the French; and in 1801 the company commenced the erection of a new headquarters at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River. To this, subsequently, was given the name of Fort William. [20]

Apparently the X. Y. Company retained its headquarters at Grand Portage until the union of the two companies in

[19] Harmon, *Voyages and Travels*, 40; Coues, *New Light*, 7, n.; John B. Moore, *History and Digest of the International Arbitrations to Which the United States Has Been a Party*, 6: map 57 (Washington, 1898). Since the above was written the outlines of the two stockades have been located on the ground. See *post*, n. 29.

[20] Roderic McKenzie, "Reminiscences," in Masson, *Bourgeois*, 1: 46–48; Warren in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 5: 292; Coues, *New Light*, 220, n.; Davidson, *North West Company*, 48, 105. David Thompson says that a United States collector landed at Grand Portage in 1800 and declared his intention of levying duties. See quotation in Burpee, "Highways of the Fur Trade," in Royal Society of Canada, *Transactions*, series 3, vol. 8, section 2, p. 188 (September, 1914).

1804,[21] but thereafter the greatness of the place was a thing of the past. A local trading post was maintained by the company at Grand Portage until after the War of 1812, but the portage itself was little used, and apparently Fort Charlotte was allowed to fall into decay.[22] During this war a British trader is said to have visited Grand Portage for the purpose of endeavoring to enlist the Chippewa Indians there resident against the Americans.[23] At the close of the War of 1812, Congress passed an act excluding foreigners from the fur trade in American territory, and Astor's American Fur Company purchased the posts of the Northwest Company south of the line. Lewis Cass, governor of Michigan Territory, in 1815 recommended the establishment of a United States military post at Grand Portage for the collection of duties and the enforcement of trade regulations. The recommendation was not followed, however; and, as the American Fur Company confined its operations on Lake Superior to the southern shore for several years, the Grand Portage band of Indians continued to be supplied from Fort William. "In the winter of 1824," according to Henry R. Schoolcraft, "persons in the service of

[21] Henry, in Coues, *New Light*, 1:218; François V. Malhiot, "A Wisconsin Fur-Trader's Journal, 1804–05," in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 19:169; Davidson, *North West Company*, 90.

[22] A map in the British Museum, which is reproduced in Davidson, *North West Company*, 144, indicates that there was a Northwest Company post at Grand Portage as late as 1818. Hind apparently thought that Fort Charlotte was an important post after the headquarters were moved from Grand Portage. He states that "Fort Charlotte was connected with Point des Meurons [*near Fort William*] by a traveled road in the time of the North-West Company." See his *Narrative*, 1:14, 74. General James H. Baker, on the other hand, in his "History of Transportation in Minnesota," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 9:9, says that a road thirty-six miles long was built in the earliest years of the nineteenth century between Grand Portage and Fort William and claims to have seen the remains of some of the bridges. Newton H. Winchell, in the Geological and Natural History Survey of Minnesota, *Final Report*, 4:502, describes the remains of the dock at Fort Charlotte as they were in 1893. He makes the mistake, however, of assigning the name "Fort Charlotte" to the post at Grand Portage.

[23] Thwaites, in *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 19:190, n.

the Hudson Bay Company [*which had absorbed the Northwest Company in 1820*] carried off in trains the band of Chippeways, living near old Grand Portage . . . after the arrival of an American trader." [24]

In 1831 a single trader was licensed for Grand Portage, but the principal activities at the place during the thirties centered around the fishing industry conducted by the American Fur Company. Grand Portage was a central station for these operations, and large quantities of Lake Superior fish were there assembled from various stations along the north shore and packed in barrels for the export trade. In 1839 the establishment there consisted of two family dwelling houses, a "new store," two "mens houses, 1 Coopers Shop, 1 Fish Store, Stable Barn, Root house, &c below or near the beach, placed here and there without order or symetry." About three acres were under cultivation and produced over two hundred bushels of potatoes. The fishing business was unprofitable, however, and seems to have been abandoned when the American Fur Company sold out in the forties. [25]

The village of Ojibway Indians, which had been located near Grand Portage Bay apparently before the coming of the first traders, remained after the glories of the place had departed. For these Indians a Catholic mission was established

[24] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, 19: 378, 430; 22 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Documents*, no. 90, p. 43, 46 (serial 213); Warren, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 5: 382; Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 132. The American trader referred to may have been Bela Chapman, who wintered on the north shore of Lake Superior in 1823–24 and visited Grand Portage in the spring. In his journal, which is in the Sibley Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, he tells of his unsuccessful efforts to prevent Indians from taking their furs to the British, who had given them "credits."

[25] Table in 22 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Documents*, no. 90, p. 50; Gabriel Franchere's "Remarks made on a visit from Lapointe to the Fishing Stations of Grand Portage, Isle Royal and Ance Quiwinan — August 1839"; account of the fur trade around Lake Superior, written probably by Clement H. Beaulieu about 1880. The last two items are manuscripts in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. Hind found an American trading post at Grand Portage in 1857. See his *Narrative*, 1: 75.

at Grand Portage about 1838 by the Reverend Francis X. Pierz; and a few years later the Right Reverend Frederic Baraga, the famous missionary bishop, visited the place and held confirmation services. Sometime during the forties the Jesuits are said to have erected a mission on the American side of the Pigeon River about a mile from its mouth and half a mile below the falls. [26]

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the history of the Grand Portage in the nineteenth century is its connection with the boundary controversy. The region was carefully explored and mapped in 1822 by the surveyors of the commission provided for in the treaty of Ghent. When the commissioners held their final meeting in 1827, the representative of Great Britain offered to accept the Pigeon River route as the boundary, provided the line should be drawn through the portages, including the Grand Portage. When this was rejected he offered to accept the river as the boundary, providing the portages should be free and open to the use of both parties. This offer also was rejected; but, when the boundary controversy was finally settled by the Webster-Ashburton treaty in 1842, it was on exactly these terms. This treaty is still in force, and presumably British citizens would be entitled today to demand the unobstructed use of the ancient trail over the Grand Portage. [27]

In 1854 the United States purchased the triangle north of Lake Superior from the Chippewa, but a tract extending from the lake to the Pigeon River and including the entire line of the portage was set aside as a reservation for the Indians.

[26] P. Chrysostomus Verwyst, *Life and Labors of Rt. Rev. Frederic Baraga*, 284, 384, 386 (Milwaukee, 1900); *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 13: 487 (New York, 1912); Joseph G. Norwood, "Geological Report of a Survey of Portions of Wisconsin and Minnesota, made during the Years 1847, '48, '49, and '50," in David Dale Owen, *Report of a Geological Survey of Wisconsin, Iowa, and Minnesota*, 397, 398, 405 (Philadelphia, 1852). The location of the mission on Pigeon River is indicated on a map, plate N, at the back of Owen, *Geological Survey*.

[27] Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 500–502.

In the later years of the nineteenth century, this reservation was broken up, allotments were given to the Indians, and the remainder of the land, with the exception of reservations for possible hydroelectric development, was sold for lumbering purposes or opened up to homesteading. A number of settlers have taken up claims which lie across the old trail, and it is said that one of them has posted a sign to the effect that the road is closed. [28]

About two weeks ago a member of the staff of the Minnesota Historical Society and a representative of a Minneapolis paper explored the old portage trail and found it still passable. At the western end they discovered the cellars and other remains of old Fort Charlotte and remnants of an ancient dock on the bank of the Pigeon River. Arrangements have been made for a detailed exploration of the site in the hope that it will be possible to reconstruct the outlines of the buildings and stockades. [29] The land traversed by this first white man's road in Minnesota, with its many historic associations, together with the site of Fort Charlotte and the cascades of the Pigeon River, should be included in a state park before it is too late.

SOLON J. BUCK

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

ST. PAUL

[28] United States, *Statutes at Large*, 10:1109; 25:642; reports of the commissioner of Indian affairs, in Department of the Interior, *Reports*, 1896, vol. 2, p. 330; 1897, vol. 2, p. 312; 1906, vol. 2, p. 397; 1917, vol. 2, p. 93; report of the commissioner of the general land office, in Department of the Interior, *Reports*, 1916, vol. 1, p. 163; A. H. Sawyer to Minnesota Historical Society, April 26, 1922.

[29] Paul Bliss, "Back Two Centuries over Minnesota's Oldest Highway to Oldest Fort," in *Minneapolis Journal*, July 16, 1922, editorial section. For an account of the later exploration see the "Minnesota Historical Society Notes," in the BULLETIN for August–November, 1922 (vol. 4, no. 7–8).

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

A DESCRIPTION OF NORTHERN MINNESOTA BY A FUR-TRADER IN 1807

Contemporary descriptions of northern Minnesota before 1810 — even published accounts — are so rare that they may be counted on one's fingers. Therefore, when the document printed below was found among the Masson Papers in the library of McGill University, its value was immediately apparent. Though portions of it have been quoted in two well-known studies of the Northwest, the manuscript as a whole has remained in obscurity.[1] From its century of oblivion it is now recalled and given the publicity it deserves as an unusually detailed picture of northern Minnesota under the régime of the Northwest Company.

The account was written at the request of Roderic McKenzie, a prominent bourgeois, or partner, of the Northwest Company, who contemplated writing a history of the company. To secure the requisite data, in 1806 he sent printed circulars to many of the wintering partners and clerks, requesting them to collect and send him, in the form of letters or journals, such information as they could obtain on the regions and natives with which they were most intimately connected.[2] To George Henry Monk, Jr., McKenzie sent one of these circulars. The letter printed below is the reply. Whether the description of the region was sent with the letter or a little later does not appear, though the two could not have been widely separated in point of time. Our information concerning Monk is scanty enough. At the time of the writing of this

[1] Gordon C. Davidson, *The North West Company*, 240, n. 156 (University of California, *Publications in History*, vol. 7 — Berkeley, 1918); Louis R. Masson, *Les bourgeois de la compagnie du nord-ouest*, 2: 170, n. (Quebec, 1890).

[2] Roderic McKenzie, "Reminiscences," in Masson, *Bourgeois*, 1: 52, n.

letter he was a clerk at the company's post on Leech Lake. Possibly he can be identified with the G. H. Monk who was at Mackinac during the War of 1812 in the capacity of district commissary general. If so, his later history is tragic, for this man became mentally unbalanced as a result of the strain of those exciting days at Mackinac.[3]

Davidson uses the manuscript to demonstrate that the fur-trading posts were the earliest centers of agriculture in the Northwest and to show to what a surprising extent certain farm products were raised. Aside from rendering this service, it gives a very exact description of the much-traveled portage route from Fond du Lac to Sandy Lake; of the topography, fauna, and flora of the region; of the trading posts and methods of conducting business; and of the Indians and their customs.

As originally sent by Monk, the manuscript seems to have consisted of three parts: a letter to McKenzie, the account of the Fond du Lac department, and a collection of Indian legends. The third part was not found with the letter and the account. Possibly it still exists, though separated from the other two sections.

The courtesy of Dr. Gerhard R. Lomer, librarian of McGill University, in presenting a photostatic copy of this document to the Minnesota Historical Society has facilitated its publication.

GRACE LEE NUTE

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

[3] For many references to the G. H. Monk at Mackinac, see the indexes to the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* and to the *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*. In the latter, the name is given in certain places as G. W. Monk, but this is obviously a misreading of the middle initial, which, in script, is easily mistaken for a W.

LEACH LAKE 18th APRIL 1807.

SIR—

I received your letter dated at Kamanitiqua the 27th June 1806.[4] I approve much of the design, and will leave nothing untried on my part, to comply with your wish: poor as my abilities are, they shall be freely exerted, to assist in executing what may be conceived as interesting to Mankind.[5]

Your extensive knowledge must inform you, how incapable I am, at present, to comply with your request. The researches of the Historian, or Natural Philosopher, are unconnected with, and must ever be impeded, by our business in the Indian Trade. It would require much leisure and active scrutiny, to satisfy the inquisitive mind on the various subjects you have been pleased to submit to my attention. Many acquisitions would be necessary, and much assistance required, of which I am not master. What in a civilized Country would be an amusement, in these wilds becomes a laborious task. Until I shall be able to give some exact account on the most important heads, stated in your memorandum, I shall postpone communications on the subject. Previous to my

[4] It was at the annual rendezvous of the factors of the Northwest Company at Kaministiquia in 1806, apparently, that the plan for writing a history of the company was devised. Roderic McKenzie appears to have been the moving spirit. See Sir Alexander MacKenzie to Roderic McKenzie, November 7, 1806, in McKenzie, "Reminiscences," in Masson, *Bourgeois*, 1:51. Until the year 1801, or thereabouts, — for the exact date is uncertain, — Grand Portage had been the annual meeting place of partners and men of the Northwest Company. When the jurisdiction of the United States was extended to cover the region including this post, the Canadians were obliged to seek new quarters on British soil. Accordingly, a spot at the end of the Kaministiquia River trail was chosen and Fort William was erected. See *ante*, p. 23. It was not given the name Fort William, however, until 1807, and then in honor of William McGillivray, at that time the most imposing figure in the Northwest Company. From the new post, only a few miles northeast of Grand Portage, the canoe route to Rainy Lake lay through Dog Lake and Mille Lacs and struck the old trail from Grand Portage at Cross Lake. This Kaministiquia trail was not a new route, having been used in the French period, but it had been almost forgotten when Roderic McKenzie rediscovered it in 1798. See Davidson, *North West Company*, 104–106 and map facing p. 144; William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1:23, n. 60 (St. Paul, 1921).

[5] The design to which Monk here refers is described *ante*, p. 28.

knowledge of your plan, I had conceived a somewhat similar one, in a narrower scale. Your ideas have enlarged it, and determined me to proceed with confidence in my endeavours to discover what may be instructive, or entertaining to those, who wish to obtain a particular history of the several trails in this immense wilderness.

From what I say, I do not pretend to intimate, that any thing new or curious may be the fruit of my endeavors to give information — so far from this, it is my idea that all, that can be said on the chief points you state, will prove to be unworthy the attention of the present age; as I doubt much, whether a compilation of events and descriptions can, in the present state of this Country, be obtained with that degree of veracity that should attend, and form the basis, of an historical account. If a novice might be allowed to hazard an opinion, mine would be — that all I have been acquainted with since my introduction into the N. West, is more appropriated to furnish matter for a poetical piece, than a descriptive History. The poetical mind, on fancy's airy wings, may range this wild world, and where doubts arise, supply certainty by conjecture. The Historian has a far more difficult task — laborious in every Country — what then in this?

But, Sir, should your endeavors be crowned with the success I could wish to realize, how great must be the reward of praise offered by those, who are acquainted with the obstacles you must have to surmount. Whether these obstacles may appear great only to those, who have not the resolution to combat with them? or whether they be so great as not to be comprehended in one view? is what must be determined by those, whose superior knowledge on the subject, may constitute them as competent Judges. I beg now to remain with the respect that merit ever attracts —

Sir,

Your truly devoted, & ob^{t} h^{ble} Servant.

GEORGE H. MONK JR.

Roderic Mackenzie Esq^{r}

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FOND DU LAC OR MISSISSIPPI BY GEORGE HENRY MONK ESQ.

M^r Thomson having visited the major part of this Department, it may be presumptive in me to attempt describing a subject in which I am, in so great a degree, his inferior.[6] However I will venture to trouble you with a few remarks some of which may probably have escaped his notice.

From Fort William to the River S^t Louis boats are more Commodius, safer, and Cheaper Conveyance than large birch canoes.[7] River S^t Louis disembogues itself into Lake Superior in 47° N. Latitude 92° 40′ west Longitude — proceeding four miles against the Current, the Channel 1½ miles wide, the river shallow and the bank sandy, we come to a shallow muddy lake, 3 miles wide and five long. Now the channel Contracts gradually to the foot of the Grand Portage, in low water about 200 paces wide.[8] The banks are here high and craggy, and in the spring as well as in wet seasons, sometimes the water rises in the space of 24 hours to 10 and 15 feet perpendicular. From this place we send back our boats to winter at Fond du Lac post.[9] Baggages are promiscuously thrown

[6] David Thompson, the well-known geographer and astronomer, had visited northern Minnesota nine years before Monk wrote. Presumably he submitted a report of his journey to the company, for Monk later mentions his description of Red Lake. See *post,* p. 37. It would be interesting to know more about this report, which seems to have vanished. Thompson's journals and a narrative compiled from them are in existence and furnish one of the earliest sources for accurate descriptions of northern Minnesota. The journals have never been published, but abstracts of them are included in Thompson's *Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784–1812,* which has been edited by Joseph B. Tyrrell and printed in a substantial volume (Champlain Society, *Publications,* no. 12 — Toronto, 1916). The abstract of the journal for 1798, p. lxxv–lxxviii, gives incidents in Thompson's trip from the Red River to Sandy Lake and thence by the portage route to the mouth of the St. Louis River.

[7] See *ante,* n. 4, for further mention of Fort William.

[8] This portage, which was used to avoid the falls and rapids in the St. Louis River just above the present village of Fond du Lac, is not to be confused with the Grand Portage in the Pigeon River route.

[9] This fort of the Northwest Company was located within the limits of the present city of Superior, Wisconsin. Monk describes its situation on page 34, *post;* and Thompson gives the exact location as 46° 44′ 2″ north

together and formed into a general one: thus making them a common task for all the men in this as also in every portage in this quarter, which prevents many delays and disputes, such as are Customary to north west men, when any of them hurt themselves or fall sick. The portage is 27 miles from the entrance and 13 miles long. At the rate of 14 pieces per man we generally take from 7 to 8 days to cross it. At the westerly end of the portage to every two men we give a Canoe 20 pieces and their provisions. The canoes are 24 feet long and built wide and flat, the shallow and narrow rivers which we have to navigate make this construction, so much disapproved of by N. Westers, Necessary.[10]

The water is very dark, the river shallow, stony, and rapid: the banks generally sterile and Gloomy; and the Channel from 150 to 200 paces wide. This portage terminates that continued chain of rocks and mountains which form the North and west boundary of Lake Superior. Thence three miles to portage des Couteaux[11] which is 1½ miles long; thence nine miles to the grand rapid;[12] thence nine miles to Askibocan;[13] and thence 24 miles to River La

latitude. See his *Narrative,* lxxvii. For the building of the fort by Jean Baptiste Perrault in 1793 see his "Narrative of the Travels and Adventures of a Merchant Voyageur in the Savage Territories of Northern America," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 37: 569. The present village of Fond du Lac, Minnesota, grew up on the site of the American Fur Company's post, constructed some years later, farther up the St. Louis River.

[10] Men in the service of the Northwest Company spoke of one another colloquially as Northwesters.

[11] Monk here refers to Knife Portage, so named from the curious rock formation which cut the feet of the *voyageurs.* See *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 37: 170, n. 48; 521, n. 28.

[12] The Grand Rapids are given on few maps, but they may be found on a map of Minnesota compiled by William R. Wood, Charles A. Morris, and Henning V. Mindin in 1861.

[13] This stream is now known by its English equivalent, Artichoke River, which is a translation of the Ojibway name, *Ushkabwahka.* It is not to be confused, however, with the present Ushkabwahka River, which, like the Artichoke River, is in St. Louis County. See under "Artichoke river" and "T.53, R.16" in Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names; Their Origin and Historic Significance,* 499 (*Minnesota Historical Collections,* vol. 17).

Savanne;[14] here River S[t] Louis takes a northerly Course and we continue a Southerly Course to Sandy Lake.

Three miles up the River S[t] Louis on the South side, the N. West Company has an Establishment,[15] of which the situation is low, but Commands a beautiful and romantic view of Lake Superior, of the River and the small Lake.

In the proximity the face of the Country is either lakes and rivers, or low fenny, or sandy, or high and Craggy; few or no spots fit for cultivation. Some of the Lakes grow a scanty harvest of wild rice. The most Common wood is Fir, Oak, maple, Birch, Cedar &c.

Here are two horses, a Cow, a Bull, and a few pigs; with the manure of these animals a garden of 3 acres of pure sand is Cultivated, which produces about 220 Bushels Potatoes.

In april and May the rivers and Lakes abound with fish. viz. Sturgeon, trout, white fish, pike, Carp, &c. The rest of the year, excepting late in Autumn when a scanty supply for the winter is laid in, fish is scarce. Formerly this quarter was very productive in furs, but is now dwindling away to a mere trifle and the wretched Inhabitants, say 30 families, procure but a very scanty share of the necessaries of life; yet when these poor people are requested to migrate to a more propitious clime, they remark that this is their home and as such it is dear to them.[16]

[14] The East Savanna River, the strip of marsh between it and the West Savanna River, and the latter stream constituted the route for canoes between the St. Louis River and Sandy Lake. This was one of the most widely known canoe routes in the Northwest.

[15] Fond du Lac. See *ante*, n. 9.

[16] Thompson, in his *Narrative*, 286, makes very similar comments on this region. Another trader, writing in 1809, but describing his voyage of 1792, says of the Fond du Lac region, "The furs of this country are the best assorted of any of this continent, and the quantity would much increase were it possible to repress the mutual incursions of the Sioux and Chippeways who carry on perpetual war. The tract of country lying between the two nations for near one hundred and fifty leagues in length and from thirty to fourty in breadth, is now visited by stealth, and if peaceably hunted would be more productive than the richest mine of Peru." See John Johnston, "An Account of Lake Superior, 1792–1807," in Masson, *Bourgeois*, 2: 170. The return of furs for Fond du Lac in 1804–05 is given in Zebulon M. Pike, *Expeditions to Headwaters of the Mississippi River*, 1: 284 (Coues edition, New York, 1895).

The entrance of River *La Savanne* is 24 miles from *Portage La Savanne.*[17] Here the river is not navigable even for the smallest canoes. In this River as well as River St. Louis we make three or four trips in some places. This portage is seven miles long; the first two *poses* [18] are so low and muddy, that in the spring & wet seasons, the men wade up to the middle in mud and water, and often wet pieces, indeed, there are instances of bags of lead being entirely lost. Five days is the usual time taken to cross the portage with 12 pieces per man, when there are few sick or lame men. At the west end of the portage is a small river also called *La Savanne,* and five leagues to the entrance where it disembogues into sandy lake; in dry Seasons a loaded canoe takes from 5 to 6 days to come down sandy lake, situated 46° 9′ 20″ north; is 5 miles long and as many broad. It empties itself into the Mississippi by a river four miles long, in the vicinity of which lakes and small rivers are numerous. When the land is not low and swampy, it is in general sandy & shaded with fir; that and oak, maple, Cedar, Ash, Birch, &c. are the principal wood which grows in this quarter.

Beaver formerly abounded here, but is now very scarce, and dangerous to hunt; being in the neighbourhood of the Sioux, the implacable enemy of the Sauteux.[19] Deer abound on the frontiers,

[17] Monk here means to convey the idea that canoes, after leaving the St. Louis River, passed up the East Savanna River for twenty-four miles before coming to the Savanna portage. Making this portage between the East and West Savanna rivers was one of the most unpleasant incidents which the fur-trader of the Northwest experienced. Few travelers who passed over it failed to describe either the swamp or the mosquitoes. The missionary, William T. Boutwell, sums up in his diary the feelings of many a traveler, when he writes under date of June 30, 1832: "To describe the difficulties of this portage, would puzzle a Scott, or a Knickerbocker, even. Neither language nor pencil can paint them." A copy of this manuscript diary is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. The Northwest Company's traders facilitated the passage of their men by constructing a platform over the entire bog. See William Johnston, "Letters on the Fur Trade 1833," in *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 37: 172.

[18] *Pose* was a French term applied to the placing or depositing of a load on the portage. From the act, the term came to be applied to the spots where such depositing occurred. *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections,* 37: 172, n.

[19] The Chippewa, or Ojibway, were called Saulteurs, or Saulteux, by the French, not because they were better jumpers than any other tribe, as

say about white fish lake in 46° 32′ 32″ North Latitude — thence downward the deer is a constant inhabitant of the banks of the Mississippi. Wild rice grows spontaneously in all the shallow muddy parts of the lakes and rivers, of which the natives gather a small part. In april and May, Pike, Carp white Fish, Rock Fish &c., abound in the lakes and rivers, but the rest of the year fish is very scarce. On the south side of the lake the N. W. Company has a fort and garden; the latter produces about 1000 bushels potatoes, some beans and peas. The Company has introduced horses and pigs into that quarter.[20] Stationary warriors are not numerous; from their continual war with the Sioux, population is on the decline. While the men hunt beaver in the Spring, the women make maple sugar on which they and their children subsist.

From Sandy Lake to the Mississippi 4 miles, thence to the small Falls 150 miles,[21] smooth current, the channel 100 paces

some have inferred from the French word *sauter,* meaning to jump, but because the band to which the name originally was applied lived about the Sault de Ste. Marie. Coues, in Pike, *Expeditions,* 1: 30, n. 36.

[20] Pike, in his *Expeditions,* 1: 139–281, gives detailed descriptions of the Northwest Company's post at Sandy Lake in 1806, stating that it was established twelve years prior to his visit. The horses, he says, were obtained from the Red River region from the Indians. In 1805 "they raised 400 bushels of Irish potatoes, cultivating no other vegetables." Monk's care in recording so exactly the extent to which farming had progressed at all the company's posts merits the gratitude of students of economic history, for such descriptions are all too rare. It is interesting in this connection to compare the year 1807 with 1832 at the Sandy Lake post. In the latter year Boutwell, in his diary under date of July 3, records: "30 head of cattle, 3 or 4 horses, and 15 swine. He [*the trader in charge*] raised 600 or 700 bushels of potatoes last year. He has from 12 to 15 acres under improvement, cultivates barley, peas, and potatoes to a considerable extent, but no corn. Still, I am persuaded it could grow here. His potatoes look exceedingly well." A Mr. Grant was in charge of the post in 1806. Coues suggests that it was Cuthbert Grant, but this is impossible, for Pike states explicitly that Grant was an Englishman, and it is well known that Cuthbert Grant was a half-breed. See Pike, *Expeditions,* 1: 133. It seems more likely that it was the James Grant mentioned in "Liste des 'bourgeois,' commis, engagés, et 'voyageurs' de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest, après la fusion de 1804," in Masson, *Bourgeois,* 1: 409.

[21] For descriptions of these falls, now known as Pokegama Falls, see Coues, in Pike, *Expeditions,* 1: 144, n. 52, and Joseph N. Nicollet, *Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River,* 63 (26 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Documents,* no. 237 —

wide, the banks are generally low and thickly shaded with large trees, and are once or twice a year overflown, otherwise would be very fit for cultivation. This is the second and last portage in the Mississippi and only 450 paces long[22] — thence 75 miles to the little Ouinipic branch[23] thence to muddy lake 3 miles, thence two miles to cross the lake, which becomes an arduous task in autumn on account of the wild rice which grows in it very abundantly; thence 70 miles to leech lake, the banks of the river from the falls to leech lake are low and are either meadow or swamp.

Leech lake is 15 miles long and 12 broad, situated in 47° 16′ 13″ north latitude; Upper Red Cedar lake Situated in 47° 42′ 40″ north latitude. The little Ouinipic is 6 miles east of Red Cedar lake. These three lakes form the great source of the Mississippi, and are considered as such by General Pike.[24] *Otter tail* lake is situated 200 miles South west by South from Leech lake. Red lake is described by M[r] Thompson. Lakes, Rivers, and swamps are numerous in this quarter, and where the face of the Country is dry, it is almost always sandy or craggy, very few spots are indeed to be found fit for cultivation. Maple, Oak, Cedar, Poplar, Fir, Birch, &c. are the principle kinds of wood which grow in this Country. Many of the lakes, Bays & Rivers are muddy and spontaneously produce vast quantities of wild rice, of which the natives gather but a small part. Beaver was formerly very abundant, but is now very scarce, and dangerous to hunt, being in the neighbourhood of the Sioux Tribes.

At Leech lake in April, May, the latter end of July, in August and September, fish is very abundant. In the latter end of October and beginning of November a fall fishing is made. Some of

serial 380). On the map which accompanies his report, Nicollet designates the falls as "Kabikons or Little Falls."

[22] Pike, in his *Expeditions*, 1: 321, says of the portage around Pokegama Falls: "The portage, which is on the E. (or N.) side, is no more than 200 yards, and by no means difficult. Those falls, in point of consideration as an impediment to the navigation, stand next to the Falls of St. Anthony, from the source of the river to the Gulf of Mexico."

[23] The main stream of the Mississippi, flowing from Little Ouinipic Lake, or Lake Winnibagoshish, is here distinguished from the Leech Lake branch, which Monk considered the main stream.

[24] *Expeditions*, 1: 152 and Coues's note on the same page. Thompson named Turtle Lake as the source of the Mississippi. See his *Narrative*, lxxvi.

the fish taken at this time is white fish, and is most excellent of the kind. A small lake called *Lac la Crosse* [25] is remarkable for a peculiar kind of white fish weighing about 20 lbs and is nearly as broad as it is long, and of superior quality. It is well known wherever wild rice is plentiful, the Country abounds in wild fowl. A hundred warriors are stationary here, who hunt beaver in the Spring, while their women make sugar, on which they and their children subsist.

The North West Company have an Establishment at the west end of Leech lake,[26] where five acres of ground produce 1000 bushels potatoes, 30 bushels oats or rice, cabbages, carrots, beets, Beans, Pumpkins, and Indian Corn. The Company have introduced, horses, cats, and hens into this quarter. Hunter's meat is scarce in this country, every possible effort is made in the fall to lay in the necessary stock of provisions for the winter; consequently a quantity of wild rice is purchased from the natives.

Round lake situated 60 miles north of Leech lake, is the source of the large fork [27] of Rainy River, and is inhabited by 15 or 20 warriors. On the North side of the Upper Red lake two freemen cultivate small spots of ground and some more talk of following their example; the natives would like this.[28]

Probably it may not be unworthy of remark that in this quarter as well as throughout all my travels in the wilderness, where the fire has ravaged the woods that in very few instances the same species grows up anew on the ruins of the old.

Old men point out to us the marks of old Sioux Villages, which Nation was driven away 70 or 80 Years ago by the Sauteux the present possessors. The former surely did not regret the evacuating a country covered with wood to go and inhabit vast plains

[25] This little lake in Itasca County is now known as Ball Club Lake. Both this name and the French one used by Monk refer to the famous game of lacrosse. See Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 253.

[26] In his *Expeditions*, 1:282, Pike gives a detailed description of the Northwest Company's fort at Leech Lake. Mention is made of an enclosed garden consisting of five acres of ground.

[27] The name of this stream is Big Fork River.

[28] Free traders or hunters — those not bound to service with any company — were often called freemen. Hiram M. Chittenden, in his *American Fur Trade of the Far West*, 1:55 (New York, 1902), calls them "the most interesting and enviable class in the mountains."

covered with buffaloe, which animal alone affords them meat & clothes; whereas the condition of *Sauteux* laborious and unproductive to themselves when compared to nations who inhabit the plains and meadows. All inquiry into ancient customs and manners serves only to convince that these children of Nature are as ignorant of the past as they are of the future. I send you a specimen of the most celebrated tales to be met with in this quarter [29] and which seem to be nearly as much credited here as that of Adam and Eve is in a civilized world. Agebois [30] is the language spoken here and is the same in origin with the Algonquin from which it differs but little especially among the *Pilleurs*.[31]

[29] On the manuscript can be deciphered a faint pencil note stating that these tales were sent in a separate paper.

[30] Monk's spelling of Ojibway is rather misleading. The Ojibway, or Chippewa, were of Algonquin origin. See Frederick W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* part 1, p. 277 (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletins,* no. 30 — Washington, 1907).

[31] The Leech Lake Indians were called Pilleurs or Pillagers. They received the name, it is related, from the circumstance that soon after the conquest of Canada they robbed a certain trader, named Berti, of the arms and ammunition which he was planning to sell to their greatest enemies, the Sioux. See Coues, in Pike, *Expeditions,* 1: 170, n.

THE INFORMATION BUREAU

A little-known activity of the Minnesota Historical Society is the maintenance of what is in effect a bureau of historical information. Queries, important and unimportant, interesting and uninteresting, are constantly being received from teachers, students, public officials, other historical societies, doctors, merchants, farmers, and business concerns. Most of them come from citizens of Minnesota, but not infrequently questions are received from individuals residing in other states. Information is asked on the Indians of Minnesota and their languages, on topics relating to local Minnesota history, biography, politics, economic development, wars and battles, and other matters too numerous to mention. The society also is often called upon to draw up bibliographies or to indicate whether or not any printed or manuscript material is available in its collections for the study of given subjects. In not a few cases the problems raised call for careful research and can be answered only after an examination of manuscripts or other unique materials in the society's collections.

It is believed that many of the answers which are prepared possess sufficient general interest to merit publication. With this number of the BULLETIN, therefore, a new department is initiated in which will be published some of the typical or more important questions and answers.

SLAVERY IN MINNESOTA

Can you give me information regarding the holding of slaves in Minnesota?

ROE CHASE, Anoka

A number of the officers stationed at Fort Snelling in early days, including Major John Bliss and Major John Garland, were slaveholders. Major Lawrence Taliaferro, who for more than twenty years acted as Indian agent at St. Peter's or Men-

dota, inherited slaves which he brought to Minnesota. Several of these he leased at different times to officers at the fort for specified periods. "Capt. Plympton wishes to purchase my servant girl Eliza," he wrote in his Journal on May 29, 1826. "I informed him that it was my intention to give her her freedom after a limited time but that Mrs. P. could keep her for two years and perhaps three." Eventually he liberated all of his slaves, the value of which he estimated to be between twenty-five and thirty thousand dollars.

Taliaferro maintains in his autobiography that the sale of a negro woman by Major Garland to Alexis Bailly was the only instance of the sale in Minnesota of a colored woman. Both Edward D. Neill and James H. Baker state that it was a man who was sold to Bailly, but neither questions that the transaction took place. Neill asserts that no other negroes were sold in Minnesota, but there is considerable evidence to disprove this statement.

James Thompson was brought to Fort Snelling in 1827 as the property of a sutler named John Culbertson. Thompson was purchased by Captain Day, an officer of the fort, who later sold him to a well-known Methodist Episcopal missionary, Alfred Brunson, at Prairie du Chien. The circumstances of this sale have been related in an article on "Alfred Brunson, Pioneer of Wisconsin Methodism," by Ella C. Brunson, in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for December, 1918, as follows: "Mr. Brunson felt the need of an interpreter for his missionary work, and learning of a mulatto slave, named Jim Thompson, who had been converted, had something of the missionary spirit, and was above the average of his race in education and mental ability, he approached the slave's master, a Kentucky officer stationed at Fort Snelling, and ascertained that Jim could be purchased for twelve hundred dollars. The missionary then wrote a letter to the Methodist publications of the time, setting forth his need and the ambition of the slave, and the result was that the money was quickly raised and forwarded. Jim was set free and at once became

a capable and faithful interpreter. He served long and well, settling at the end of his years of usefulness in St. Paul, where he died at an advanced age, in 1884."

In 1836 the famous Dred Scott was brought to Fort Snelling by Dr. John Emerson. Later in the same year Major Taliaferro, acting in the capacity of justice of the peace, officiated at the marriage of Scott to a slave girl, Harriet Robinson. Accounts differ as to the ownership of Harriet at the time of her marriage. Taliaferro claims to have given her to Scott, and this claim is accepted as fact by the historian, J. Fletcher Williams. According to other accounts, however, Harriet previously had been sold by Taliaferro to Dr. Emerson. An examination of the records of the Dred Scott case appears to substantiate the claim that Dr. Emerson owned both Scott and Harriet at the time of the marriage. A statement presented to the United States Supreme Court by both the plaintiff and the defendant in the case related that "in the year 1835, Harriet was the negro slave of Major Taliaferro. In that year, 1835, said Major Taliaferro took said Harriet to said Fort Snelling and kept her there as a slave until the year 1836, and then sold and delivered her as a slave at said Fort Snelling unto the said Dr. Emerson. Said Dr. Emerson held said Harriet in slavery at said Fort Snelling until the year 1838." According to the same statement Scott and Harriet were married "with the consent of said Dr. Emerson, who then claimed to be their master and owner." Taliaferro does not mention the marriage in his Journal for 1836. Not until 1864, nearly thirty years later, did he write his autobiography, and it is possible that when he then wrote about the matter he had forgotten the details.

There are allusions to Taliaferro's slaves in his Journals, in the manuscript collection of the Minnesota Historical Society, under the following dates: March 31 and May 29, 1826; February 23, March 30, April 3, and September 22, 1831; August 30, 1834; and November 28, 1835. His "Autobiography" is published in volume 6 of the *Minnesota Historical*

Collections. References to slaveholding may be found in Edward D. Neill's article on "Occurrences in and Around Fort Snelling from 1819 to 1840" in volume 2 of the same series, and in James H. Baker's "Address at Fort Snelling in Celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Treaty of Pike with the Sioux" in volume 12. Other books from which information on slavery in Minnesota may be gleaned are Thomas M. Newson's *Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota, and Biographical Sketches of Old Settlers* (St. Paul, 1886); J. Fletcher Williams' *History of Saint Paul and of the County of Ramsey, Minnesota* (*Minnesota Historical Collections,* vol. 4); and Benjamin C. Howard's *Report of the Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States and the Opinions of the Judges Thereof, in the Case of Dred Scott versus John F. A. Sanford* (New York, 1857).

L. A.

EARLY DRAMA IN MINNEAPOLIS

Can you give me any information relative to the beginnings of dramatic entertainment in the pioneer days in Minneapolis?

CARLTON MILES, Minneapolis

There is little material on the history of the earliest dramatic enterprises in Minneapolis and it is, therefore, difficult to state when the first plays were produced. Musical activities and lyceum lectures probably took the place of drama in the earlier years of the city.

The first place used for theatrical purposes according to Isaac Atwater's *History of the City of Minneapolis, Minnesota,* 1:326 (New York, 1893) and Horace B. Hudson's *Half Century of Minneapolis,* 115 (Minneapolis, 1908), was Woodman's Hall, owned by Ivory T. Woodman. Neither source gives the date of its erection, but Atwater states that the first attraction here was the "Sally St. Claire troupe."

The second hall used for theatrical entertainment, according to the same accounts, was Harmonia Hall. "Here," says Atwater, "John Templeton, Alice Vane, and little Fay Tem-

pleton are among those who gave to the theatre the lustre of their presence." Between 1860 and 1866 Harrison's Hall appears to have been used for amusements, and in 1864 a second Harmonia Hall was built.

The first real theater in Minneapolis, the Pence Opera House, was dedicated on June 21, 1867. It was described in the *Minneapolis Daily Tribune* as the "largest in the west," with "as good painting and fresco work as any building in the United States." The floor was built level and furnished with removable upholstered settees, each seating five persons. The total seating capacity was 1,400, and the cost was approximately fifty thousand dollars. On June 24 it was opened as a theater with Rachel Johnston and J. R. Healy in the "Hunchback," which was followed by "East Lynne," "Lady Audley's Secret," "Leah the Forsaken," and "Ingomar." The company which produced these plays, like most of the dramatic companies in the early days, was a repertoire company offering a different attraction each night. Several weeks earlier, on June 3, Miss Johnston had made her first appearance in Minneapolis. On this occasion the *Tribune* made the following comment: "A new and meritorious star arose on the dramatic horizon last night. The opera glasses that swept the firmament conveyed to the retina of various eyes a pleasing picture. The play was the beautiful drama of 'East Lynne' and was put on the boards in a magnificent manner. The parts were well rendered, and the audience remained intensely interested to the last."

Early in July, 1867, Emilie Melville, "vocalist and comedienne," and her troupe, including George F. De Vere, Nellie Mortimer, and Mrs. Creamer, arrived in Minneapolis for a three weeks' engagement at the Pence Opera House. Their performances included "The Hidden Hand," "Our American Cousin," "Fanchon, the Cricket," "Somnambulist," "The Comical Countess," "Kitty O'Sheal," and "Camilla's Husband." During the third and last week of their engagement "The Black Cook" was played. About the same time a drama entitled "The Black Crook" was being given in St. Paul, and

this gave the Melville troupe the opportunity to run the following advertisement : "The Black Crook put to the blush by the Great Comic Sensational Extravaganza, entitled the Black Cook, introducing the renowned Parish Ballet Troupe! And Gudger's Transformation Scene!"

Charles Plunkett and his company of twenty actors also appeared at the new theater shortly after its opening. This was his second appearance in Minneapolis that season. On the occasion of his former visit the *Tribune* made very favorable comment on his work but caustically advised that "the orchestra should bear in mind that practice makes perfect and a personal application will perhaps enable them to play an accompaniment that will not set one's teeth on edge." The company presented a group of plays ranging from "The Drunkard," "Robert Emmett," and "Pet of the Public" to "Macbeth," which the *Tribune* states "was brought forward as well as we ever saw it," "The Merchant of Venice," and "Othello." This was a period in which the temperance play was very popular. Two were included in the repertoire of the company, "Drunkard Saved," and "Ten Nights in a Bar Room."

The Minnesota Historical Society has a collection of theatrical handbills dating from 1867. Most of these are advertisements of St. Paul attractions, but they represent many plays that also were offered in Minneapolis, and in these cases identical handbills were probably used in the latter city. The file of the *Minneapolis Daily Tribune* in the society's newspaper collection is complete, beginning with the first issue in 1867, and contains advertisements and criticisms of the various amusements offered in that city from time to time.

L. A.

RAMSEY'S EARLY CHURCH CONNECTIONS

I am desirous of learning whether the late Governor Alexander Ramsey of Minnesota was whilst a student at Lafayette College, Easton, Pennsylvania, in the early thirties a member of the First Presbyterian Church of that city.

ETHAN A. WEAVER, Germantown, Pennsylvania

In the large collection of Ramsey Papers in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society are copies of a number of letters written by Ramsey during student days. Evidence therein contained indicates that Ramsey was not a member of the church in question. On September 28, 1834, he wrote: "I have been several times in the German Reformed Church, and it is indeed a noble pile, the beauty of its exterior front and cloud-capped spire being alone exceeded by the taste and beauty displayed in its interior decoration." A letter of October 12, 1834, contains the following statement: "I attend church twice a day, which we are required to do once in the college chapel, and once mostly at the German Reformed church. Most of the students being Presbyterians attend that church."

B. L. H.

THE BOUNDARY AT THE LAKE OF THE WOODS

In the northern end of Minnesota, near the ninety-fifth meridian, is a little projection which looks as though it was a bite in the corner of Ontario. It is just east of the eastern boundary of Manitoba, and includes part of the Lake of the Woods. Can you tell me why this was originally included in the state of Minnesota when the map would indicate the normal dividing line would be a continuation of the southern boundary of the western Canadian provinces?

S. B. WILKES, Buffalo, New York

Ignorance of the geography of the region now included in northern Minnesota and, especially, of the location of the upper Mississippi River resulted in the curious extension of Minnesota's northern boundary at the Lake of the Woods. According to the treaty of Paris in 1783, the northern boundary of the United States in this region was to be a line drawn due west from the most northwest point of the Lake of the Woods to the Mississippi River. When it was found that the sources of this river were south of the Lake of the Woods, it was proposed that the boundary be the shortest line between the above northwest point and the Mississippi River. Later it was

learned that such a line would fall south of the forty-ninth parallel, the northern boundary of Louisiana as ceded by France in 1803.

An attempt to settle the matter was made in 1818, when the following article was included in a convention between the United States and Great Britain: "It is agreed that a line drawn from the most northwestern point of the Lake of the Woods, along the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, or, if the said point shall not be in the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude, then that a line drawn due north or south as the case may be, until the said line shall intersect the said parallel of north latitude, and from the point of such intersection due west along and with such parallel, shall be the line of demarkation between the territories of the United States and His Britannic Majesty . . . from the Lake of the Woods to the Stony Mountains."

It having been finally determined that the forty-ninth parallel is south of the northwest angle of the Lake of the Woods, the question was again taken up in the Webster-Ashburton treaty of 1842, which provides for a boundary running due south from this angle to the forty-ninth parallel. Further controversy concerning the exact locations of points and parallels ensued and it was not until 1876 that the protocol establishing the present boundary was signed.

Excellent outlines of the history of the northern boundary of Minnesota at the Lake of the Woods appear in the *Final Report of the International Joint Commission on the Lake of the Woods Reference,* 133–140 (Washington, 1917), and in Elliott Coues, ed., *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and of David Thompson,* 1: 22–26, n. 28 (New York, 1897).

B. L. H.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Transition of a Typical Frontier with Illustrations from the Life of Henry Hastings Sibley, Fur Trader, First Delegate in Congress from Minnesota Territory, and First Governor of the State of Minnesota (A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in the graduate school of the University of Minnesota). By WILSON PORTER SHORTRIDGE, M.A. (Menasha, Wisconsin, George Banta Publishing Company, 1922. viii, 186 p.)

The most original feature of Mr. Shortridge's volume lies in its somewhat unusual point of view, the nature of which is revealed in the title. The book is neither a biography of Henry Hastings Sibley nor is it, strictly speaking, a history of the early development of Minnesota. Because of this rather unique viewpoint, the reviewer may be pardoned for quoting the following passage from the preface, which sets forth clearly and succinctly the purpose and method of the study. "This account of frontier transition is a study in the history of the West. If the West be thought of as a period rather than a place, then the study of a limited area which passed through the successive stages in the evolution of society on the frontier should be typical of what was repeated over and over again in the conquest and settlement of the continent. And, in the same way, if a study be made of an individual who lived through and participated in, or at least witnessed, the various steps vivid illustrations of the significant features of the westward movement may be found. In the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century that part of the upper Mississippi Valley which became Minnesota passed through the evolution of society from frontier to statehood, and the most prominent man in that region during the period was Henry Hastings Sibley, fur trader, first delegate in Congress from Minnesota Territory, and first governor of the State of Minnesota. This region and this individual have been selected, therefore, as types in this study of frontier transition."

All of this has a familiar ring to those who are acquainted with the orthodox interpretation of western history, for it was just thirty years ago that Professor Frederick J. Turner read his famous paper on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History." Mr. Shortridge must not be presumed to be submitting new proof of the validity of Professor Turner's interpretation of the significance of the frontier, for that thesis has been generally accepted now for almost a generation. What he does attempt to do is to illustrate this thesis by the consideration of a special case. The Minnesota frontier may be regarded as a "laboratory specimen" which is examined with the idea of demonstrating the significant features of frontier development in general. This method is somewhat unusual in the field of historical research. The average historical monograph represents an attempt to ascertain and classify certain facts and, in some cases, even to interpret them. It is rare indeed that the writer of a monograph is fortunate enough to be able to start with a ready-made interpretation as a major premise and to confine himself to the citation of data which will illustrate his thesis. Yet this is what Mr. Shortridge does in the volume under consideration.

The study begins with an account of the early history of the Sibley family, including the genealogy of Henry Hastings Sibley, and traces its movement westward with the wave of migration in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century. It is evident from this account that the Sibleys were typical pioneers. The first of the successive frontiers which passed over the upper Mississippi Valley was that of the fur-trader, and Mr. Shortridge describes a phase of this initial stage of frontier development in one of the best chapters of the book. Naturally he lays particular emphasis upon the fur-trading operations of Sibley himself. This is followed by an account of the entry of settlers into the region and a description of their principal occupations. The organization of Minnesota Territory is considered in some detail, after which comes an exposition of the subject of territorial politics between 1848 and 1852. Internal improvements, land policies, and similar matters are considered under the chapter title "The Needs of a New Territory." One of the outstanding chapters of the volume deals with Indian relations, which constituted a particularly acute problem in Minnesota for many years. Another important

and closely related chapter describes the Indian uprising in the valley of the Minnesota River in the summer of 1862 and its suppression by state and federal authorities. The author traces the growth of the territory culminating in its organization and admission to the Union as a state in 1858, in which year Sibley was elected governor. A chapter on the advent of the railroad describes the difficulties of a frontier community in providing itself with the transportation facilities so vital to its growth and development. The final chapter describes Sibley's activities during the closing years of his life. In the "Retrospect" with which he concludes his study, Mr. Shortridge very aptly summarizes the early history of the state and incidentally strikes the keynote of the entire volume. "The rapidity with which the West was settled is most vividly appreciated when viewed in terms of human life. In 1795, when Solomon Sibley came over the mountains to the first American frontier settlement northwest of the Ohio river, the history of the great West, the real American West, was only in the period of beginnings. Before his son died, in 1891, the frontier had disappeared. When Sibley, in 1834, made his way into the region which became Minnesota it was a typical Indian frontier; when he died, Minnesota was a State with a population of almost one and one-half millions."

In any criticism of the author's work it is necessary to bear constantly in mind his purpose, which has already been set forth in his own words. First of all, it may be assumed that if Minnesota is to be regarded as a type, the value of the study will depend in large measure upon the skill with which the writer demonstrates in what respect this particular case is typical of frontier development as a whole. The average reader will not feel inclined to criticise seriously Mr. Shortridge's treatment of the transition of the Minnesota frontier. But the question arises, to what extent does this special case typify or illustrate the general theory of frontier development which he assumes at the outset? It is feared that this connection will not be altogether clear except to those who have made a special study of western history, and western history as expounded by Professor Turner and his successors in this field. In other words, it is felt that the volume lacks a certain background which the average reader cannot safely be assumed to possess and which is essential to the author's purpose. In discuss-

ing specific problems of frontier development in Minnesota, would it not be well to explain briefly the extent to which these problems were typical of the frontier as a whole? For example, in treating of the public land question it would be possible to explain the principal features of the land policy of the United States as applied in other frontier regions during this period. It would then be possible to form an idea as to the extent to which the handling of this question in Minnesota was or was not "typical." The reader constantly finds himself saying, "This case may be typical, but just what is the thing of which it is a type?" The answer is, of course, to be found in a consideration, not necessarily difficult or involved, of the larger and more general aspects of frontier development. It is felt that the author confines himself too exclusively to Minnesota. The fact that he starts with a general thesis does not release him from the necessity of attempting a certain amount of interpretation.

It was not Mr. Shortridge's purpose to write a biography but would it have involved any real departure from his method if he had given us a little more information concerning Sibley the man? Sibley was clearly a remarkable character and yet he does not stand forth as a personality. Again, Mr. Shortridge's purpose, as stated in his own words, was to portray "the gradual evolution of society and industry in the upper Mississippi country." But he has said almost nothing concerning the life and the manners and the thoughts of the people, which certainly constitute one of the most interesting and important aspects of frontier development. In this respect it would seem that the author has missed a real opportunity.

On the other hand, the volume has many very good qualities. The chapters dealing with the fur trade and Indian relations are extremely well done and reveal an adequate grasp of these important aspects of frontier history. Particularly interesting is the discussion of the defects in the Indian policy of the United States government and of the factors entering into the negotiation of Indian treaties. In his discussion of the attitude of the frontiersman toward politics, Mr. Shortridge has given us a particularly good bit of historical generalization. The volume also has one merit which is not always characteristic of works of

this sort: the footnotes, while entirely adequate, are not overwhelming.

It is an indication of pedantry on the part of a reviewer to seize upon and drag forth isolated instances of typographical errors as evidence of his own vigilance. But in case errors of this sort are so frequent as to constitute a serious defect in the book, they may properly be mentioned. In the opinion of the reviewer this volume contains too many mistakes which careful proof reading might have eliminated. For example, in at least four different places, Mackinac is spelled "Machinac." The American Fur Company is referred to as having found itself "in close financial straights for some years" (p. 24). Two of the great fur companies which are frequently mentioned are correctly known as the "Northwest Company" and the "Hudson's Bay Company" instead of the "Northwest Fur Company" and the "Hudson Bay Company," as they are usually designated in this volume. There are a number of other mistakes and typographical errors which need not be mentioned.

The extensive and well-arranged bibliography would in itself be an evidence of the care with which the author had located his material and carried on his research, even if the text were not already sufficient proof of this.

WAYNE E. STEVENS

Maria Sanford. By HELEN WHITNEY, formerly assistant professor of rhetoric at the University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis, The University of Minnesota, 1922. 322 p. Illustrations.)

This book is the story of a woman of rare personality, a Puritan in origins and temperament, who was brought to the University of Minnesota by President Folwell in 1880 and for twenty-nine years influenced successive classes of students as a professor of rhetoric and an inspirer of Spartan virtues. During this long period and after her retirement from the university she was known in her own state and throughout the country as a lecturer who was no less lucid in expression than clear in thinking. She discoursed on a wide range of subjects, from art and literature to morals and public questions, and her audiences were invariably interested

both in what she said and in what she was. For this Connecticut Yankee in the Middle West, this torch-bearer, this vigorous teacher of men and women, was possessed of an indefinable charm, a compound of qualities that made her — Maria Sanford. Perhaps no Minnesota woman has been praised so much as she, and if the author of her biography at times risks fulsomeness, the book is saved by the inclusion of a delightful poem written by Oscar Firkins, a veritable ode to "Maria" which closes thus:

> Praise her not with smug obeisance,
> Sleek and millinered complaisance!
> Save your peppermint and raisins
> For the dupe of sugared lies!
> Praise her, travel-soiled and dusty,
> Praise her, vehement and gusty,
> Praise her, kinked and knurled and crusty,
> Leonine and hale and lusty,
> Praise her, oaken-ribbed and trusty,
> Shout "Maria" to the skies.

The first chapter consists of "The Unfinished Autobiography," a brief and vivid account of her Connecticut home and her girlhood written by Miss Sanford at the age of eighty-three. "I come of good, strong New England stock," is the opening sentence. From the historical point of view, it is to be regretted that Miss Sanford did not continue and complete the story of her own life. So individual was she that it is inadequate to speak of her as a type. Yet many another Yankee has come out to the Middle West to contribute to the educational development of the section and we have too few personal records of the sort projected but left unfinished by Miss Sanford. Fortunately, many of her papers have been preserved and these have now been presented to the Minnesota Historical Society to be treasured alongside the papers of politicians, fur-traders, soldiers, missionaries, and business men who have played conspicuous parts in the drama of Minnesota history.

Nine chapters have been contributed by Miss Whitney, the general scope of which may be indicated by their titles: "A Connecticut Yankee," "The Teacher," "The Minnesota Pioneer," "Christian's Burden," "The Neighbor," "The End of the Teacher's Road," "'General Helping,'" "Harvest," and "The Farewell." The value of these chapters is considerably enhanced

by liberal quotations from Miss Sanford's speeches and letters, and these partially compensate for the absence of a finished autobiography. It is possible that a collection of letters, speeches, and papers by Miss Sanford would be worth publishing as a supplement to the biography and as a further contribution to the cultural history of Minnesota and to our knowledge of the unique and forceful woman who has been affectionately called "the best known and best loved woman in Minnesota."

Miss Whitney's book is frankly written as a tribute to Maria Sanford. It is not in any sense a critical biography. Primarily it is a sympathetic character study in which the central point of interest is never the external story, but rather the qualities developed, tested, and revealed in the character of the heroine, Maria Sanford. The keynote is sounded in the preface: "She was constantly communicating, through her own vigorous personality, a zealous enthusiasm for education, for character-building, and for civic righteousness to all young people with whom she came in contact."

THEODORE C. BLEGEN

Year-Book of the Swedish Historical Society of America. Volume 7. (St. Paul, 1922. 128 p.)

The article of chief importance in this *Year-book* is "Some Footnotes to the History of Swedish Immigration from about 1855 to about 1865," by George M. Stephenson. This is a mosaic of information mainly culled from and showing the value of the files of *Hemlandet,* the first Swedish newspaper in the United States, which was published at Galesburg, Illinois. Intrinsically there is considerable interest in Mr. Stephenson's enumeration of the causes of emigration; in his discussion of the efforts by the Swedish press, pulpit, and government to stem the tide of emigration; in the evidences adduced of misrepresentation of America by various agencies interested in an increased immigration; in the discussion of the issues of Know-Nothingism and slavery in relation to the Swedish element; and in the frequent references to conditions in Minnesota in the fifties. But the chief importance of the paper lies in its proof of the value of *Hemlandet* and similar materials as sources for the history of Swedish immigration.

In general, it may be pointed out that the scientific study of immigration from the historical point of view is a comparatively new thing. The pressing social and economic problems occasioned by the influx of millions of foreigners have blinded students to the widely ramifying influence of immigration on American history. As a result the subject has been left largely to the tender mercies of sociologists and economists. Many books of great value have, indeed, been written on specific racial elements in the population. But only recently have historians become aware of the possibilities of the general field. No adequate history of American immigration has yet been written. But general attention has been called to this very important factor in the history of the United States, for example, in the first chapter of Mr. Arthur H. Schlesinger's recently-published *New Viewpoints in American History* (New York, 1922). As the entire subject is further explored by historians, sources of information that have been neglected by sociologists will be utilized. These will surely include newspaper material, the potential value of which is demonstrated in Mr. Stephenson's essay in the volume under review.

Mr. Stephenson also is responsible for the inclusion of a score of "Typical 'America Letters,'" written chiefly by Oliver and Mary Stephenson, from Henry County, Illinois, to relatives in Sweden during the period from 1859 to 1869. Embodying definite information on most of the features of pioneer life in the new world, these letters are typical of thousands of personal reports which were mailed home from immigrants and which translated generalities into concrete terms and specific things, messengers of truth about actual American conditions. These particular letters are distinctly human documents also, and in their quaint lines one feels the charm and responds to the force of the sturdy and attractive personalities of the writers.

Judge Andrew Holt contributes to the *Year-book* a valuable sympathetic account of the "Characteristics of the Early Swedish Settlers in Minnesota." An eloquent tribute to "Dr. Enander," one of the most distinguished Swedish-Americans, comes from the pen of his daughter, Hilma Enander.

T. C. B.

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

Mr. Theodore C. Blegen, assistant superintendent of the society, assumes the editorship of the MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, beginning with this issue.

The attendance at the seventy-fourth annual meeting of the society, held on January 15, is conclusive evidence of increased interest in Minnesota history on the part of the people of the state. The morning conference on local history work was attended by about fifty persons representing eleven different counties, and nearly a hundred members and friends of the society were present at the luncheon to celebrate the enrollment of one thousand active members. At the afternoon session the audience numbered about a hundred and fifty, and nearly three hundred people heard the annual address by Dr. Folwell in the evening. A full account of the meeting will appear in the next number of the BULLETIN.

The active membership of the society crossed the one thousand mark just at the close of the year. At the luncheon to celebrate this achievement, which was held in connection with the annual meeting, "two thousand members by the seventy-fifth anniversary" was proposed as the slogan of a new membership campaign and announcement was made that the first payment of dues by annual and sustaining members enrolled thereafter would cover the balance of the present and all of the next fiscal year. The additions to the active membership during the last three months of 1922 numbered sixty-seven. In the following list the names of these new members are grouped by counties:

BLUE EARTH: Daniel G. Willard of Mankato.

GOODHUE: A. G. Siverson of Wanamingo.

HENNEPIN: Mrs. William H. Bussey, Floyd A. Chandler, George F. Darling, Mrs. Albert W. Hastings, Alethea L. Larawa, Frederick F. Lindsay, Frederick K. Lindsay, Elizabeth V. Sadley, Fred H. Sanders, William H. Shephard, Grace B. Sherwood, Reverend Roy L. Smith, and Herbert N. Watson, all of Minneapolis.

RAMSEY: Mrs. Walter L. Chapin, Abby A. Fuller, Arvid G. Gordh, Albert S. Gowen, Edward L. Kenrick, Gertrude Krausnick, Oscar L. Olson, August Palmquist, Clifton T. Parks, Marie N. V. Pearson, and Maude H. Whitney, all of St. Paul.

REDWOOD: Herbert A. Baldwin and Andrew D. Stewart of Redwood Falls.

ST. LOUIS: Er F. Alford, Dr. William R. Bagley, Archibald T. Banning, Julius H. Barnes, Archibald M. Chisholm, Albert B. Clarfield, Charles P. Craig, Arthur H. Crassweller, George H. Crosby, Frank A. Day, Francis H. DeGroat, William B. Getchell, Michael F. Hanson, Harvey Hoshour, Francis E. House, Robert Jaques, John Jenswold, Reverend Jeremiah Kimball, Luke A. Marvin, Oscar Mitchell, Andrew Nelson, Frederic W. Paine, Herbert W. Parkinson, William B. Patton, Hervey H. Phelps, John U. Sebenius, William C. Sherwood, Albert B. Siewert, Mrs. Gladys A. Swanson, James W. Walker, Levi M. Willcuts, John G. Williams, Dwight E. Woodbridge, and Raymond Ziesmer of Duluth; Dr. Frederick Barrett of Gilbert; and Thad S. Bean and John A. Redfern of Hibbing.

SIBLEY: Fred W. Rochlitz of Gibbon.

NON-RESIDENT: Frank M. Parcher of Hollywood, California.

The society has lost three active members by death during the three months ending December 31, 1922: Charles S. Fellows of Minneapolis, November 28; William B. Dean of St. Paul, December 5; and Oliver Crosby of St. Paul, December 8.

The number of public libraries and schools subscribing to the society's publications has been increased to ninety-seven by the addition of fourteen institutions during the last quarter of 1922. These include the public libraries of Coleraine, Stillwater, and St. Paul; and public schools in Frazee, Gilbert, Glencoe, Mankato, Milroy, St. Paul (Central High School), and Strandquist. The St. Paul Public Library entered five subscriptions, one for the main library and one for each of the branches.

An exhibit designed to illustrate the work of the Minnesota Historical Society has been prepared under the direction of the curator of the museum and has been sent first to Redwood Falls, where it is being shown under the auspices of the local women's

club. It is to be sent to Duluth in time to be displayed in connection with a meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society on March 5. The exhibit comprises six large cards on which are mounted Indian relics; photostatic copies of manuscripts, rare Minnesota newspapers, old maps, and title pages of valuable books; pictures of the exterior and interior of the society's building; and leaflets, maps, and charts relating to membership. Accompanying the mounted displays are copies of some of the society's publications. Thus every major branch of the society's activities is represented in the exhibit: the library, the museum, the newspaper collection, and the manuscript and editorial divisions.

The executive committee on January 25 accepted an invitation extended by the Redwood Falls Commercial Club to the Minnesota Historical Society to hold its second annual summer meeting in Redwood Falls. It is probable that this convention will be held on June 22 and 23 and will be preceded on June 21 by an automobile tour from Fort Snelling to Redwood Falls under the joint auspices of the society and the Sioux Historic Trail Association. To hold the second historical convention at Redwood Falls, in the Minnesota Valley, in the summer of 1923, is particularly appropriate as it will coincide with the centenary of the expedition led by Major Stephen H. Long which explored the Minnesota and Red River valleys in the summer of 1823. The unpublished journal kept by the leader of this important expedition is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. On one of the cards in the exhibit which has just been sent to Redwood Falls are mounted photostatic reproductions of three pages of this journal, containing entries made in the vicinity of the site of the future city of Redwood Falls.

A special Grand Portage exhibit, prepared for the annual meeting, will remain on display in the Indian room of the museum until about March 1. Included in this exhibit are an ancient water drum hollowed out of wood and used on ceremonial occasions, the peace pipe of the Grand Portage band of the Chippewa, old wooden tobacco and "pass-around" dishes, a shell charm used by a medicine man, pictures and relics from old Fort Charlotte at the western end of the Grand Portage trail, and a group of interesting

paintings by Mr. E. Dewey Albinson of Minneapolis. Two charts of the remains of old Fort Charlotte and a map of the proposed Grand Portage State Park add to the value of the exhibit. The charts were prepared by Mr. Albinson and Mr. Alvin C. Eastman, who conducted surface explorations at the site of the fort last summer. The exhibit also contains some articles of modern Indian workmanship, including birch-bark baskets, matting woven from the inner bark of the cedar, and a woven basket of the same material. Practically all the objects in the Grand Portage exhibit were loaned to the society, many of them by the Indians themselves, through the courtesy of Miss Effie Falconer, the Indian agent at Grand Portage.

One case in the Indian room contains numerous fur-trade objects which will be of special interest to readers of the present number of the BULLETIN. These objects include a tomahawk, a silver brooch, silver bracelets, steel arrowheads, iron spearheads, iron axes, a flintlock gun, trade knives, trade beads, a moccasin awl, five steels, iron hoes, and many other articles of importance in connection with the Indian trade.

In accord with the precedent established two years ago the society will celebrate Washington's birthday with an "historical style show" in the museum. The performance this year will be entitled "The Great American Family" and will take the form of a dialogue in explanation of a series of living pictures, which will be presented by members of the staff. The purpose, as in previous years, will be to illustrate the historical value of the large costume collection in the possession of the society.

Twenty-four meetings have been held in the society's auditorium during the last three months of 1922. These include two history hours, with talks by the curator of the museum, several meetings of classes from Mechanics Arts High School of St. Paul, and meetings of a library institute, the Minnesota Garden Flower Society, the St. Paul Housewives' League, and a section of the Minnesota Education Association. Five classes in American literature, to the number of two hundred students, came to the museum on October 10 and 11 for illustrated talks by the curator on "Life in the Colonial Period." "A Visit to Mrs. Spruce and

Mrs. Tamarack on the Grand Portage Indian Reservation" was described in the talk at the history hour on November 4.

The superintendent of the society attended the annual meeting of the American Historical Association and allied organizations from December 27 to 30 at New Haven, Connecticut. He participated in the conferences of archivists and of delegates from historical societies and presided at a joint meeting of the American and Mississippi Valley historical associations. Two other members of the council of the society were present at the New Haven meeting, Dean Guy Stanton Ford and Dr. Clarence W. Alvord, of the University of Minnesota.

On October 4 the superintendent spoke on Minnesota history and the work of the society before the Hennepin County Medical Society. Similar talks were given by him before the history club of the University of Minnesota, November 18; the men's club of the Prospect Park Methodist Church in Minneapolis, December 3; and the historical club of Carleton College at Northfield, December 14. Since joining the staff in September the assistant superintendent has given three talks in which the work of the society has been discussed: at Hamline University, October 4; before the Norwegian-Danish Press Association in Minneapolis, October 13; and at a librarians' meeting held at the University of Minnesota under the auspices of the library division of the state department of education, November 18.

The curator of the museum, Mr. Willoughby M. Babcock, Jr., read a paper on "Major Lawrence Taliaferro and Indian Affairs at the St. Peter's Agency for the Upper Mississippi, 1820 to 1840" before the Wisconsin Archeological Society at Milwaukee on December 18. While in Milwaukee he made a study of the collections and activities of the Milwaukee Public Museum, after which he went to Chicago, where he visited the Field Museum and the museum of the Chicago Historical Society. On his return trip he stopped at Madison, where he examined the Hamilton Archeological Collection in the museum of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The librarian of the society, Miss Gertrude Krausnick, attended the mid-winter meeting of the American Library Association at

Chicago from December 28 to 30. The annual meeting of the Minnesota Library Association, held in Duluth from October 2 to 4, was attended by Miss Elizabeth K. Clark, the head cataloguer.

Accessions

Much of the material included in the twenty-eight accessions to the manuscript collection received during the quarter relates to the fur trade and traders of Minnesota. These recent acquisitions supplement and add to the value of the society's collections of papers dealing with this important phase of regional history. An interesting light on the problem of the historical records of Minnesota is afforded by the fact that these accessions have been secured from such widely separated places as Montreal, New York, Washington, D. C., and Madison, Wisconsin. The document from Montreal is a photostatic copy of George H. Monk's account of a trip to Minnesota in 1807, printed in this issue.

From the State Historical Society of Wisconsin have been received photostatic copies of the papers of the fur-trader, Alexis Bailly, covering the years 1820 to 1846 and consisting of about 140 pieces. Most of these papers relate to the fur trade in Minnesota and consist of communications from such men as Joseph Rolette, Lawrence Taliaferro, Joseph Laframboise, Hercules Dousman, Joseph R. Brown, Philander Prescott, and Alexander Faribault. For the period from 1823 to 1834 the papers possess unusual value, as they are practically the only contemporary records of the Minnesota fur trade which the society possesses for those years. Many of Bailly's own letters are preserved in the collection. Photostatic copies of letter books of the American Fur Company for the period from 1816 to 1823 have been borrowed for reproduction from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, thus making available records of the early activities of the company in the Northwest. The orginal documents from which the first copies were made are preserved at Mackinac.

Photostatic copies of the population schedules for St. Croix County, Wisconsin, in the census of 1840, have been received from the census bureau in the federal department of commerce. These give statistics of population, pursuits, and resources for La

Pointe, Fond du Lac, Grand Portage, the region described as "west of a line drawn from the mouth of Porcupine creek to Upper Lake St. Croix and south of a line drawn thence to the mouth of Crow Wing river," the territory from "Crow Wing river to Red stone Prairie near Little Crows village," and Gray Cloud Island settlement. The names of heads of families are recorded in the population schedules, and among them appear those of most of the well-known traders and *voyageurs* of the period, the preponderance of French surnames being striking. Valuable data as to ages, number of persons in the family, occupation, and the like, also are given. As the earliest statistical record on file of live stock owned, crops raised, fish caught on the lakes, and similiar matters, the schedules for St. Croix County afford important new material for an early chapter in the history of the economic development of Minnesota.

An autobiographical sketch of Jean Pierre Pascal Baillif, dealing with his career from the date of his departure from France on April 19, 1835, until his arrival in Minnesota in 1839, has been donated by Miss Matilda Baillif of Bloomington, a granddaughter of the author. A translation by the donor and Mr. Ernest A. Baillif accompanies the French original. After varied experiences and considerable traveling, the author, in 1839, proceeded north from Galena, where he had worked in the lead mines, to Fort Snelling. The narrative includes a description of Prairie du Chien, the Indians and their customs, the Mississippi River, and Fort Snelling, where Baillif remained in the capacity of cook. In the spring of 1840 he settled on Lake St. Croix.

By arrangement with Mr. E. L. Peet of Minneapolis, the diaries of his father and mother, James and Harriet Peet, are to be loaned to the society for copying. James Peet was a Methodist minister who came to St. Paul in 1855 as a city missionary. The mission was not well supported and he left the following year to take charge of a mission at Superior, Wisconsin, where he served for a period of five years. Three volumes already have been received: Harriet Peet's diary of 1855, recounting the trip to St. Paul; and James Peet's volumes for 1856 and 1857, telling of disaffection in the St. Paul mission and of his removal to Superior. When these diaries have been copied additional ones will be received.

The documents constitute an important new source of information on pioneer church conditions in Minnesota and on the history of the northeastern part of the state.

The acquisition of a calendar of the records of the Sioux Claims Commission in the national archives at Washington adds to the material already available on the Sioux Outbreak a body of valuable statistical data. The commission was authorized by Congress in 1863 to receive claims for damages from persons who had sustained injuries during the uprising and to apportion the sum of two hundred thousand dollars among claimants who could produce satisfactory evidence of injury or loss. The calendar gives abstracts of the records of some five hundred claims, which comprise about eight thousand manuscript pages of addenda and appendixes to the printed report of the commission. These abstracts throw light not only on the events of the outbreak but also on agricultural conditions in the afflicted regions. A calendar of the commission's correspondence, copies of a few outstanding documents, and a summary of the action taken by the commission have also been acquired.

Two Lincoln letters have been deposited for photostatic reproduction by Professor Samuel B. Harding of the University of Minnesota, to whose father they were written in 1854 and 1855. The letters reveal the astuteness which characterized Lincoln as a politician.

The Civil War papers of Brigadier General Robert N. McLaren have been presented by his son-in-law, Mr. George E. Ingersoll. These papers are a valuable supplement to General McLaren's account of the Sully expedition against the Sioux in 1864, a copy of which is owned by the society.

From Miss Abby A. Fuller of St. Paul has been received a collection of papers which throws a flood of light on social conditions in St. Paul during the fifties. One document, an expense book kept by Elizabeth Fuller during the year 1857 for the Fuller household, contains lists of articles of food, clothing, and furniture with their respective costs. The interest and value of such items may be indicated by the following samples: " 1 gal. Sperm oil, $1.75 "; " 100 lbs. dear [*sic*] meat "; " 10 lbs. Bear meat "; " 12

buffalo tongues for $9.00"; and "$239.75 for 43¾ cords of wood." The papers include seventy letters written by members of the Fuller family in St. Paul to relatives in Connecticut. These letters are to be withheld from the public until January 1, 1928, but very full extracts have been made by Miss Fuller, which are accessible. They contain vivid pen pictures of dances, parties, sleigh rides, "strawberryings," matchmakings, houses, and people in St. Paul in the fifties.

A paper by Mr. Thomas E. Hughes of Minneapolis on "Baptists in the Political Development of Minnesota" has been deposited by the author, who presented it on September 16, 1920, at Fort Snelling, when the hundredth anniversary of its establishment was celebrated.

Some of the papers of Judge Isaac N. Cardozo have been presented by his daughter, Miss Ellen Cardozo of St. Paul. They throw light on the career of a well-known lawyer who was for many years a United States commissioner in Minnesota.

Some interesting manuscripts dealing with conditions in other states have been received recently. Five letters written in 1844 as part of the correspondence between John P. Hale and J. B. Wiggin of New Hampshire have been presented by Mr. Herbert C. Varney of St. Paul. The letters relate mainly to the Democratic Party in New Hampshire and its attitude with reference to the right of petition. Hale had a distinguished political career as a congressman, senator, candidate for the presidency, and minister to Spain. Three letters written by David Olmsted of Clayton County, Iowa Territory, to relatives in Vermont in 1843, 1844, and 1848, have been presented by Hardy L. Wilson of Monona, Iowa. The nature of the region, the prices of products, revivals and temperance meetings, and the removal of the Winnebago Indians are among the topics mentioned in the letters. An account book kept by Solon K. Buck in Stow, Massachusetts, and Berlin, Wisconsin, during the periods from 1849 to 1855 and 1856 to 1875, has been presented by his grandson, the superintendent of the society.

Several additions have recently been made to the society's collection of museum objects illustrating pioneer life in Minnesota. A large spinning wheel for wool, a skein reel, and a swift have

been presented by Mrs. Annie E. Wood of Waseca. An ox yoke is the gift of Mr. Max Distel of Le Sueur. A large, old-fashioned coffee mill of the type used in many a pioneer home has been presented by Mrs. John H. Blegen of Minneapolis.

The picture collection has recently been increased in value by the gift of a handsome framed oil enlargement of Lafayette Emmett, who served as attorney-general of Minnesota Territory from 1853 to 1858 and as the first chief justice of the supreme court of the state. The donor is Dr. Leslie C. Lane of Minneapolis, a son-in-law of the justice. A large framed pastel portrait of the late Charles H. Berry of Winona, the first attorney-general of the state, and a smaller framed crayon portrait of his wife, are the gifts of Mrs. Frank Jerrard of St. Paul. Miss Mary H. Folwell of Minneapolis has presented a small steel engraving of Dr. Joseph A. Bowman, a pioneer dentist of St. Anthony. An unusually interesting addition to the picture collection is the framed pastel of the hanging of the thirty-eight Sioux Indians at Mankato on December 26, 1862, which was presented to the society by Mrs. William Hocking of St. Peter through the courtesy of Mr. Arthur T. Adams of Minneapolis. Captain Theodore G. Carter, the father of the donor, acted as officer of the day when the execution took place, and had the picture made in 1904 in accordance with his recollection of the scene.

The Indian collection of the museum has been enriched by the gift of Miss Abby A. Fuller of St. Paul of a pair of heavily beaded moccasins of the hard sole type, a knife sheath, a game bag, and a number of other interesting articles. Ten fine baskets made by the California Indians have been deposited by Mrs. M. M. Mitchell of Minneapolis.

Gifts and other accessions to the library are too numerous to permit of individual notice here. Mention should be made, however, of an interesting lot of about five hundred curious old newspapers, pamphlets, and broadsides which had been preserved in an old New Hampshire homestead, presented by Mr. and Mrs. Herbert C. Varney; and of a valuable collection of about nine hundred books, magazines, and pamphlets received from the Le Duc family.

Important additions to the costume collection include an evening gown in the style of 1900 and a black waist with the large sleeves of 1895, both from Paris, presented by Mrs. E. C. Lindley of St. Paul and New York; and a large number of costumes, hats, and dress accessories of the late nineties and early nineteen hundreds, presented by Miss Mabel Gardner and other members of the Le Duc family of Hastings.

Governor Preus has turned over to the society a hand-woven and embroidered towel made by peasants in the Bashkvi Republic and by them presented to Harold F. Blandy who died at Ufa, Russia, while a member of the American relief administration. The towel was sent to the governor by Mr. Blandy's mother, who desired to give it to the state of Minnesota.

NEWS AND COMMENT

The following suggestive formulation of the function of history, which occurs in a *Report* of the Joint Commission on the Presentation of Social Studies in the Schools, should be of interest to students of local and state history:

The distinctive contribution of history to the social studies is to portray human events and activities as they actually occurred; its guiding principles are continuity and development. Therefore these events and activities are not regarded as isolated and unrelated or as of equal importance. Every condition or event is conceived to be related to something that went before and to something that comes after. Conditions and events are deemed important in so far as they serve to throw light upon some course of development. More briefly, then, the special and peculiar function of history is to trace development.

History places, and helps to explain, successive stages in the development of mankind. It constantly extends backward the memory of living men and gives them a sense of perspective to aid them in forming their judgments on contemporary affairs. In the light of history our most valued social possessions are seen to be deeply rooted in the past but the world is viewed as undergoing a continuous process of adjustment and change. Finally, history seeks to give students an intelligent notion of those human activities, decisions, and achievements which lie behind our present-day institutions and problems.

The mounting interest in state history for elementary and secondary schools is evidenced by the rate at which new texts in this field are coming from the press. A *History of Indiana,* by Logan Esary (New York, 1922. 362 p.) is a condensation of the same author's two-volume work on Indiana history. A novel feature of this text is the inclusion of an extract from a contemporary source at the end of each chapter, a device of undoubted value for stimulating interest and conveying a sense of reality to the student. In a number of cases, however, the source extracts selected appear to have no apparent relationship to the subject matter in the chapter. Much attention is paid by the author to social and economic history. There are chapters on pioneer industries, pioneer schools, the pioneers and their social life, public lands, roads, and other

subjects often omitted from state histories. Some of Mr. Esary's general views are of interest. "To know people," he writes, "we must know their habits; to know society we must know institutions, which are the personal habits of society. From the historical point of view, the people without their institutions are ineffective, while institutions without the people are empty as the shard of a beetle. Vitality appears only when people and institutions are seen in interplay." A new *History of Missouri,* by C. H. McClure (Chicago, 1920. 268 p.), appears to be an exceptionally comprehensive book of its kind. The nature of the author's approach is indicated by his last four chapters which deal with the coöperative work of public and private agencies in Missouri, the relation of Missouri to the World War, the work of Missouri writers, and the history of the state's press. A state history which abounds with pictures, charts, maps, tables, statistics, and bibliographical references is a *History and Geography of Ohio,* by William M. Gregory and William B. Guitteau (New York, 1922. 282 p.).

A stimulating essay entitled "Vitality in State History," by J. G. deR. Hamilton, is published in the *Proceedings* of the twentieth and twenty-first annual sessions of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina (Raleigh, 1922. 128 p.).

"Local Historical Societies and Their Field of Work" is the title of a suggestive article by Otis G. Hammond, in the March, 1922, issue of *Antiques.* It has also been reprinted as a pamphlet (10 p.).

Few of the addresses and papers presented at the New Haven meeting of the American Historical Association and allied organizations from December 27 to 30 related to western history. Among the subjects of special interest may be noted the following: "Agricultural History as a Field of Research," by Frederick J. Turner; "Some Salient Characteristics of Frontier Religion," by William W. Sweet; and "The Farmers' Alliance in North Carolina," by John D. Hicks. Professor Turner's address was delivered before the Agricultural History Society, and the other two papers were read at a joint session of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the American Historical Association.

American Indian Life is the title of a remarkable book edited by Elsie Clews Parsons and illustrated by C. Grant LaFarge (New York, 1922. 419 p.). Twenty-seven tales by different authors present a kaleidoscopic picture, or, more accurately, afford a composite photograph of native American life. The fictional method employed does not disguise the broad scholarship of the distinguished authors who are contributors to the work. Only three of the stories relate to tribes of the Middle West: "Little-Wolf Joins the Medicine Lodge," by Alanson Skinner; "Thunder-Cloud, a Winnebago Shaman, Relates and Prays," by Paul Radin; and "How Meskwaki Children Should Be Brought Up," by Truman Michelson.

In *The Hero of the Longhouse* (New York, 1920. 329 p.), Mary E. Laing describes in story form the life and achievements of the "historical Hiawatha," whose fame has been eclipsed by that of the poet's creation. The chief work of the real Hiawatha was the forming of "a nation by uniting the five tribes of the Iroquois."

An important article by the leader of the western school of American historians, Professor Frederick J. Turner of Harvard University, appears in the *Yale Review* for October under the title "Sections and Nation."

A valuable contribution to Minnesota history is contained in an article on "The Origin and Early History of the Farmers' Alliance in Minnesota," by John D. Hicks of the North Carolina College for Women, published in the December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*. This study was read at the state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society in Duluth last July. In the same magazine is an interpretative study of "Nativism in the Forties and Fifties, with Special Reference to the Mississippi Valley," by George M. Stephenson of the University of Minnesota.

One chapter in Hanna Astrup Larsen's able study of *Knut Hamsun* (New York, 1922) deals with the latter's experiences as a young man in America, chiefly in the Middle West.

In an interview reported in the *St. Paul Daily News* for December 24, a former passenger agent of the Northern Pacific Railroad,

Mr. Clarence E. Stone, tells how he brought theatrical attractions to the cities of the Northwest, from Duluth to Portland, Oregon, during the years following 1883, when the Pacific railroad was completed.

At the annual meeting of the Swedish Historical Society of America, which was held at the Historical Building in St. Paul on December 2, two papers were read: "The Beginnings of Education among the Swedes in America," by Dr. Conrad Peterson of Gustavus Adolphus College; and "Reminiscences of Early Days in Minnesota," by Dr. Frank Peterson. A special exhibit of books, pamphlets, and newspapers, drawn from the library of the Swedish Historical Society, was presented in the museum.

Hjalmar or the Immigrant's Son is the title of a novel by James A. Peterson of Minneapolis, in which the scenes are laid among the early Norwegian settlements in pioneer Wisconsin (Minneapolis, 1922. 273 p.). The book is of considerable historical value because of the fidelity with which the frontier setting has been sketched.

In an effort to save old manuscripts, the New York Historical Society recently published a series of advertisements in a large number of New York newspapers calling attention to the historical value of old letters, papers, books, and documents. "Fire and the Rag Man," "Your Attic," and "Old Letters and Papers," were among the vivid headings employed.

The Indiana Historical Society has recently received a bequest from the late Delavan Smith of Indianapolis, consisting of the sum of $150,000 and the private library of Mr. Smith's father, William Henry Smith, the Indiana historian. The collection is valued at $200,000.

The most interesting article in number 2–3 of volume 6 of the *Michigan History Magazine* (1922) is on "Source Material of the Detroit Public Library as Supplied by the Acquisition of the Burton Historical Collection." This is a brief description of some of the manuscript treasures relating to the early Northwest in the invaluable collection presented by Mr. Clarence M. Burton. A mural tablet in bronze, placed in the Detroit institution, bears an

inscription which says of Mr. Burton: "His genius and interest lay in the collection of the original sources of history of this city and state and of the Northwest Territory. Having devoted a lifetime of effort to this work he presented the results of his interest and industry to his fellow citizens."

"The Yankee and the Teuton in Wisconsin" is the title of the leading article in the December number of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History*. It is a careful comparison by Joseph Schafer of the two racial groups with reference particularly to their relations to the land — a type of study that might profitably be made in other western states. In an editorial in the same number Dr. Schafer calls attention to certain dangers connected with a too trusting reliance upon "What We Remember." "Our memories," he writes, "when they volunteer testimony concerning events of long ago, should ever be treated as potential perjurers, and handled with all the rigor employed by the cross-questioner in a court of law."

An unusually thorough study of its kind is a *History of Banking in Iowa*, by Howard H. Preston of the University of Washington, published by the State Historical Society of Iowa as a volume of its *Iowa Economic History Series* (Iowa City, 1922. 458 p.). The book contains fifteen chapters dealing with all phases of Iowa banking history from 1838 to 1921.

The *Report* of the State Historical Society of Iowa for the biennium ending June 30, 1922, announces that on July 1, 1922, that organization had 1,220 active members.

A book on *Julian Dubuque, His Life and Adventures* (Dubuque, Iowa, 1922. 91 p.), by Richard Herrmann, is useful for its survey of the career of an important figure in western history.

A detailed study of the "Lewis and Clark Expedition in its Relation to Iowa History and Geography" is printed in the *Annals of Iowa* for October, 1921–January, 1922.

Theodore Roosevelt's ranching experiences in the eighties near Medora, North Dakota, have a perennial interest for students of the former president's career. A careful study of the subject by Albert T. Vollweiler is published in the *Quarterly Journal* of the

University of North Dakota for October, 1918, under the title, "Roosevelt's Ranch Life in North Dakota." In commemoration of the sixty-fourth anniversary of Roosevelt's birth, the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for October 22, 1922, carries an article by Mr. Vollweiler which obviously is based upon the earlier study noted above. A "Real Chateau in North Dakota Badlands," built by a French nobleman, the Marquis de Mores, in the early eighties is described, and his unsuccessful commercial ventures at Medora, a town which he founded, are enumerated in an article by Kate H. Brower in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 17. Modern pictures of Medora and the chateau appear with the article.

Much information relating to the Canadian Northwest, with occasional references to Minnesota, is contained in the *Autobiography of John Macoun* (1922. 305 p.). The volume is published by the Ottawa Field-Naturalists' Club as a memorial to the distinguished Canadian explorer and naturalist.

The Development of the British Empire is the title of a valuable textbook by Howard Robinson of Carleton College (New York, 1922. 475 p.). In it the author traces in a comprehensive manner the evolution of the British Empire from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the present. Considerable attention is given to Canada and its relations to the United States, a subject of special interest to readers of this magazine.

In the *Manitoba Free Press* for October 28, W. R. Lowe describes an event in the annals of the Selkirk settlement — "the great mid-winter tramp of Jean Baptiste Lagimodiere" from the present site of Winnipeg to Montreal in 1815. How Lagimodiere delivered to Lord Selkirk the message telling of the threatened destruction of his colony by the Northwest Company and thus enabled Selkirk to dispatch a body of Swiss soldiers for the protection of the settlers is related. Another article presenting the romance of Lagimodiere's wife, "the West's first white woman," appears in the *Free Press* for November 20.

General Minnesota Items

The article on Minnesota in the new volumes of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* is a concise summary of the development of the state

since 1910. The subject is dealt with under the following eight headings: population, agriculture and minerals, manufactures, transportation, education, government, finance, and history. The article was prepared by Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society.

The project for placing a marker by the Mendota chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution "to commemorate the treaty at Mendota negotiated on Pilot Knob whereby the Sioux Indians ceded their lands in the Territory of Minnesota and the State of Iowa to the United States Government" occasions an interesting article by Jay W. Ludden in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for November 5, which tells the story of the cession of 1851.

A phase of Minnesota's pioneer history that has been seldom touched upon — the territory and the state as the "playground of the nation" and a mecca for southern tourists before the Civil War — is set forth in an interesting article by William Kirchner in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for October 8. Some of the reasons why Southerners chose Minnesota as a refuge from the unhealthful summers of their own climate, chief among which are the facts that Minnesota Territory was strongly Democratic in politics and that this congenial district was easy of access by way of the Mississippi River, are pointed out. The frontier towns that tourists found at the head of navigation also are described. Pictures of the Winslow House and the Nicollet House, two hotels built at St. Anthony in the fifties to accommodate summer visitors, illustrate the article.

An article which deals with the possible development of an historic motor route through the region of the Sioux Massacre appears in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for October 29. Monuments already erected in the district to mark historic sites are described and it is suggested that many of these should be removed to the roadside, where tourists might view them and where they would be less likely to be neglected. Pictures of some of the markers and an old view of Fort Ridgely also are published. Certain flaws in the article are pointed out and additional material is presented in a second article in the *Pioneer Press* of December 24. This contains an appreciation of the valorous services of Colonel Timothy J. Sheehan during the defense of Fort Ridgely, based upon

information furnished by his widow, Mrs. Jennie Sheehan of St. Paul, and some recollections of the massacre by two survivors, Mrs. Mary Schwandt Schmidt of St. Paul and her brother, Mr. A. W. Schwandt of Vancouver, Canada. With the article appear portraits of the two latter narrators and of Colonel Sheehan.

The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* has reprinted and thus made available for general use four articles descriptive of northern Minnesota and Dakota a half century ago, which were written for the *Boston Daily Advertiser* in the autumn of 1872 by H. L. Bridgman. At that time the author was traveling with three United States commissioners and three representatives of the Northern Pacific Railroad Company, who were inspecting the completed portion of the Pacific railroad. The reprints appear in the issues of the *Pioneer Press* for October 15, 22, 29, and November 5. In the first article the author describes Duluth, the eastern terminal of the railroad, with its fine harbor and wonderful possibilities for future development; in the second and third he tells of the journey over the newly-constructed road to the crude frontier towns of Brainerd and Moorhead. The latter was at the time the western terminal of the regular freight and passenger business of the Northern Pacific, but tracks stretched westward from this point nearly 150 miles into Dakota and were being extended towards the Missouri River at the rate of two miles a day by a crew of a hundred men under the protection of a military escort. The journey to Crystal Springs within a few miles of the "end of the track" is the subject of the final article. Each of the articles is appropriately illustrated.

At a meeting of the Minnesota War Records Commission on November 14, attended by four of the nine members, the secretary reported progress made during the current biennium and recommended for submission to the Governor and the legislature a plan for the work of the next biennium. It was decided informally, subject to the approval of the absent members, that in order to hasten the completion of its work the commission should request an annual appropriation of $17,500, instead of $10,000, the current annual appropriation. Before the end of the present biennium the commission will have published a history of Minnesota in the Spanish-American War and the Philippine Insurrection,

but its original and major task, the publication of a comprehensive history of Minnesota in the World War, still remains to be done. Work has commenced on the preparation for the press of a history of the 151st United States Field Artillery, written by Lieutenant Governor Louis L. Collins, but this volume remains to be printed; and other volumes on the World War period are projected in accordance with the plan tacitly approved at the last session of the legislature. At the meeting of the commission it was emphasized that a request for an increase should not be regarded as might a similar request from a permanent state department, the commission being a temporary body with a limited task to perform and desirous only of completing its work at smaller cost, both in time and money, than would be possible under the present appropriation.

Among the articles of special interest to Minnesotans which have been published in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Burlington, Iowa, during the past three months, is an account, by Captain Fred A. Bill, of "William H. Seward's Visit to Minnesota in 1860," based upon extracts, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society, from the diaries of Charles Francis Adams and his son, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., who accompanied Seward. The narrative, which appears in two installments in the issues for November 25 and December 2, contains extensive quotations from such portions of the diaries as relate to St. Paul, the Falls of St. Anthony, Fort Snelling, and the journeys coming and going on a Mississippi River steamboat. In commemoration of the seventieth anniversary of the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific Railroad, a series of articles, also by Captain Bill, is published in the issue of the *Post* for September 23 and October 7 and 14. Herein is described the famous excursion with which the Rock Island celebrated its completion to the Mississippi River in 1854, by bringing to the end of its road and thence by boat to St. Paul a group of prominent Easterners. Captain Bill deals with the same subject in an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for October 15. In an interesting pamphlet, entitled *Seventy Years of Service from Grant to Gorman* (1922. 48 p.), issued in commemoration of the same event, Mr. F. V. Nevins sketches the history of the road from the forties to the present.

An interview with Captain Fred A. Bill of St. Paul concerning his steamboating experiences on the Red and Red Lake rivers fifty years ago is reported by Jay W. Ludden in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for November 12. Some interesting descriptions of the valleys of these rivers and the embryonic towns upon their banks in 1872 are included. Early views of Winnipeg, Fort Pembina, and Fort Garry, pictures of two steamboats on the Red River, and portraits of Captain Bill and James J. Hill, illustrate the article.

A valuable series of articles by W. H. Brill dealing with the trunk highway system of Minnesota and embodying "historical information regarding road building and road laws in the state" begins in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for October 22. In the opening article, which is entitled "Minnesota Road History Dates Back to Early Fur Traders," Mr. Brill states that the first road to be built in what is now Minnesota connected Beaver Bay on Lake Superior with Greenwood Lake. Precisely when the road was constructed is not made clear in the article, although the author indicates that it was toward the end of the fur-trading period. It is improbable, however, that traders used the road to any great extent. The chief value of the article lies in its suggestion of historical possibilities in the study of the state's roads. The articles which follow deal with many practical aspects of the road system of the state, and occasionally introduce historical material. In the second article the author develops the idea that "Snow Blocked Roads Gave Birth to State Highway System." In the eleventh article, entitled "Counties Cooperate in Lacing State With System of Good Roads," Mr. Brill deals with a group of counties, describing for each the coördination of the trunk highways and the so-called "state-aid roads" built by the counties with financial aid from the state.

Plans have been adopted by the Norwegian-Danish Press Association to honor the memory of Paul Hjelm-Hansen. A commemorative plaque is to be prepared which will be presented to the Minnesota Historical Society. Hjelm-Hansen came to America from Norway in 1867, and from that date until his death in 1881 he was prominently identified with the Norwegian press in Wisconsin and Minnesota. He is especially noted as the author of a series of influential letters, written in 1869, describing an exten-

sive journey in Otter Tail, Douglas, and other western counties of Minnesota. In 1869 he was appointed by Governor Marshall to act as an agent of the state board of immigration. After leaving Alexandria on July 12, 1869, in a wagon drawn by oxen, he drove as far west as Fort Abercrombie and Georgetown, everywhere making inquiries of settlers and carefully observing conditions. In a series of well-written letters, published in newspapers both in Norway and in this country, he advertised the resources of the Red River Valley, vigorously urging Norwegian immigrants to settle in the region. He later traveled extensively in other parts of the state, continuing his communications to the press. The letters constitute a mine of detailed, first-hand information for students of settlement in Minnesota. They are published in the *Nordisk Folkeblad* for 1869, the files of which are preserved in the newspaper collection of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Members of the Evergreen Club, an organization composed of musicians who have been " active either professionally or semiprofessionally in music in Minneapolis for at least 20 years, " recalled pioneer musical events of the city at their annual banquet on November 25. An account of the meeting appears in the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 26. The pioneer custom in Minneapolis of driving " in a carriage from house to house to sing New Years' carols " is described in the same newspaper for December 31 in a report of an interview with Mr. George Eustis, the leader of a quartet which followed this practice sixty years ago. An interesting contribution to the musical history of Minnesota is contained in a book entitled *A History of St. Olaf Choir,* by Eugene E. Simpson (Minneapolis, 1921. 192 p.). The scope of the book is somewhat broader than its title indicates, for it tells the entire story of musical organization and activity at St. Olaf College, Northfield, an institution which has been fortunate in having the services of a remarkable director of music, Mr. F. Melius Christianson.

In a letter printed in the *Henderson Independent* for December 15, Mr. George G. Allanson, discussing the beginnings of farming in Minnesota, points out that the mound-building Indians raised several varieties of corn and beans, in addition to potatoes, pumpkins, squash, and sunflowers. They are, therefore, the original

farmers of Minnesota. The first man to raise wheat in Minnesota, Mr. Allanson asserts, was Joseph R. Brown, at Gray Cloud Island in 1831.

Interesting contributions to the agricultural history of the state are being made in articles on dairying by Charles F. Collison which appear from time to time in the *Minneapolis Tribune*. The most recent of these, published on October 8, is an account of the life and work of Professor Theophilus L. Haecker, who has taught dairy methods at the University of Minnesota since 1891.

In a pamphlet entitled *Public School Finance in Minnesota*, by Fletcher Harper Swift and Frances Kelley del Plaine, an able analysis of Minnesota's school conditions is presented, particularly with reference to the expenditure of funds (Minneapolis, 1922. 59 p.).

In a general survey of the "Present Status of State History Teaching in the Elementary Grades," presented in the December *Historical Outlook*, Mr. Harry L. Haun ranks Minnesota among those states in which state history is "not generally" taught. Mr. Haun contributes to the same magazine an article on "Progressive Tendencies of State History Teaching in the Elementary Grades," in which several interesting Minnesota experiments are considered, including a "socialized recitation plan" at the State Teachers College at Winona where "pupils of the 8 B Grade have written and to some extent illustrated their own state history."

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

The most important recent development in connection with local historical activity in the state is the organization of the St. Louis County Historical Society. The people of northeastern Minnesota have displayed much active historical interest during the past year. The first annual state historical convention under the auspices of the Minnesota Historical Society was held at Duluth in partial recognition of this fact. That the St. Louis County membership in the state society has been increasing very rapidly is evidenced by the inclusion of almost forty St. Louis County names in the membership announcement printed in the present number of the BULLETIN. The ground was well prepared for the new county

society before its organization on November 25, when a constitution was adopted and officers were elected. Among the latter are William E. Culkin of Duluth, president; William A. McGonagle and Mrs. Julia M. Barnes of Duluth, and A. E. Bickford of Virginia, vice presidents; J. Daniel Mahoney of Duluth, treasurer; Mrs. Addie Mauseau of Duluth, secretary; and a board of governors composed of Edward C. Congdon and William C. Sargent of Duluth, J. C. Poole of Eveleth, Peter Schaeffer of Ely, and W. N. Tappan of Hibbing.

The constitution enumerates the objects of the society with particular emphasis upon the collection and preservation of the sources for the history of the county, as well as the dissemination of historical information and the marking of historic sites. Provision is made for active and honorary members, the former to be of two classes, life and annual, according as they make a single payment of fifteen dollars or choose to pay one dollar a year. The secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society is made an ex officio member of the organization. The officers include a president, three vice presidents, a general secretary, a treasurer, and "as many corresponding secretaries for different locations in the county as may be provided from year to year by the action of the Board of Governors." This board, composed of the president, vice presidents, and five elected members, is authorized to manage the affairs of the society. The president of the society, however, is the executive agent of the board and is compensated for his services. Four meetings are to be held each year, in addition to an annual meeting or convention to be held in alternate years in Duluth and other cities of the county. In case material is collected which is not specifically desired for the county "it may be tendered to the Minnesota Historical Society," and if there is a "cessation of an effective working organization" the collected materials shall become the property of the state society. Affiliation with the state society is provided through institutional membership, and an annual report is to be made from the local to the state society.

The first quarterly meeting of the new society was held on January 2. The *Duluth Herald,* commenting editorially on the project in its issue of December 30, says, "Our local history is of high interest. The story of early explorations, of the Indian

tribes, of ancient Fond du Lac, of the development of the fur trade, of mining, lumbering, farming, railroading, and shipping, all must be remembered and all must be set down and told. An interesting collection of old records and documents should be made, these being the original sources of local history. Perhaps some day a documentary history of St. Louis county may be published which would be an invaluable record of facts for the use of future historians." It is to be hoped that in other counties, where historical activity has not been organized or has remained uncorrelated with the work of the state institution, the example of St. Louis County will be studied and followed.

The annual meeting of the St. Louis County branch of the Minnesota War Records Commission was held at the local headquarters in Duluth on December 22. The chairman and director of the committee's work, Mr. William E. Culkin, submitted reports on the activities and expenditures of the year then closing. In reporting that the committee now has records of the war services of some thirteen thousand individuals, the chairman emphasized the fact that the committee's file is the only one in existence in which the names of those who entered military or other war service from St. Louis County can be readily obtained. Similar records in the state collection, it may be noted, are arranged for the most part without reference to county divisions. Progress was reported in the preparation of a narrative history upon which Mr. Culkin has been working, but consideration of the question of publication was deferred upon the chairman's recommendation. The committee agreed to an arrangement whereby it would share its headquarters and the services of the clerk in charge with the St. Louis County Historical Society, the latter organization sharing also in the expense.

A paper on "The Friendly Ojibways of the Lake Superior Country," by William E. Culkin, field agent of the Minnesota Historical Society in northeastern Minnesota, was read at the annual meeting of the Old Settlers of the Head of the Lakes, held in Duluth on December 13.

The circumstances which prompted Representative Proctor Knott of Kentucky to deliver a satirical speech on Duluth in the national House of Representatives on January 27, 1871, are re-

counted by Charles E. Lovett in the *Duluth Herald* for October 6. Numerous details are presented to explain how Knott ridiculed the idea of Duluth, an " 'important city' of 300 people trying to secure a $500,000 appropriation for her harbor," only to produce the unexpected result of spreading the name and fame of the infant city.

A wealth of material on the early history of Renville County is included in the " Fiftieth Anniversary Edition " of the *Olivia Times,* issued on September 28. A general outline of the county's history is supplemented by historical sketches of its various towns, reminiscences of old settlers, an account of early political events, and notes on schools, teachers, and churches. A history of the *Times* with extracts from its earliest issues also is included. A similar edition of the *Sleepy Eye Herald-Dispatch,* published on September 14, celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of the town. Much local interest is usually shown in special newspaper editions in which the historical background of the community is described. Occasionally the Minnesota Historical Society is called upon by editors to supply historical information for such issues. With careful planning and search for original documents in the preparation of anniversary issues, Minnesota editors could make genuine contributions to the history of the state by their publication. Such contributions, preserved in the society's files of newspapers, would be permanently available to students of local history.

Some of the changes which have taken place in Ramsey County since its establishment on October 27, 1849, are noted in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for October 27. Brief statements about five other counties, Benton, Dakota, Itasca, Wabasha, and Washington, which were established on the same date, also are published. Of special interest is a map showing the original and present boundaries of Ramsey County. The state's newest county, Lake of the Woods, is the subject of an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for November 26. A brief outline history of Beltrami County, from which the new county was detached, is included.

The interesting story of early settlement on Gray Cloud Island is retold in an article by M. Retlaw in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 3.

Chief Justice Calvin L. Brown is the author of a paper on "Stevens County in the Making and the Men Who Made It," which is printed in the *Morris Tribune* for November 24. In the same newspaper for December 15 Chief Justice Brown writes on "Some Politics, 1874–1878," discussing mainly the results of local elections in Stevens County for the period indicated.

In some of his more interesting sketches of "St. Paul Before This" recently published in the *St. Paul Daily News,* Benjamin Backnumber deals with the following subjects: "Kaleidoscopic Government" during Minnesota's pre-territorial period, October 29; a "bad mistake" connected with Albert E. Rice's election to the state Senate in 1874, October 8; how McGill was nominated in 1886, October 15; the election of 1847 in St. Paul, October 22; "Donnelly and Austin" in the campaign of 1864, December 24; Robert A. Smith, mayor of St. Paul for fifteen years, November 5; the attempt to remove the capital to St. Peter, November 19; "Early Newspapering," December 17; and Lot Moffet and his "castle," an early St. Paul hotel, December 31.

Considerable material on the industrial development of St. Paul and South St. Paul and the history of the live-stock industry in the Northwest is published in a special section of the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for December 17.

Local newspapers seem never to tire of publishing the story of the founding of St. Paul by the redoubtable Pierre Parrant, alias "Pig's Eye." The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* needed no greater provocation than the death of a pioneer, Christopher D. O'Brien, Sr., to publish the oft-told tale in its issue of December 17, where it is combined with other bits of information about early St. Paul.

How St. Paul celebrated its first official Thanksgiving Day on December 26, 1850, is told by Jay W. Ludden in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for November 26. Notes on general conditions in St. Paul and on the festivities of the day are followed by extensive extracts from the sermon preached by the Reverend Edward D. Neill at the "Thanksgiving union services." His portrait with a view of St. Paul in 1850 and a picture of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, where the services were held, illustrate the article.

The wrecking of the old House of Hope Presbyterian Church in St. Paul occasions an article in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for October 4 which reviews the past of the historic church.

Considerable material is published in the *St. Paul Daily News* for December 17 on the history of that newspaper since March 1, 1900, when its first issue appeared.

The history of a much-debated subject — the development of power at the high dam in the Mississippi River between St. Paul and Minneapolis — is summarized in the *Minneapolis Tribune* and the *Minneapolis Journal* of December 24. The story spans the period from 1866 to the present.

The Hennepin County War Records Committee closed its office at the courthouse in Minneapolis in December, having completed, in large measure, the work of compiling and collecting records of the part taken by Hennepin County citizens and organizations in the World War. The committee, however, will continue in existence for an indefinite period, the secretary, Mr. Cecil W. Shirk, devoting his spare time to the completion of a few unfinished tasks. The committee's extensive file of records of local service men and welfare workers has been turned over to the Minneapolis Public Library, and its equally voluminous files of the war-time correspondence, reports, and other records of important local organizations have been added to similar collections in the office of the Minnesota War Records Commission — all of which will be noted in a report to be issued by the committee at an early date. Commenting editorially on the work of this committee, described in its news columns of the day before, the *Minneapolis Journal*, on December 27, observed: "The Hennepin County War Records Committee should be complimented on the thorough and able manner in which it has taken the individual threads of history and woven them into a solid fabric of fact concerning the County's part in the war. . . . It has . . . preserved as minute a family history of Hennepin County as could possibly be made. . . . Compilation of such a record has taken some two years, but it has been worth while. In time it will become one of the most valuable collections of data that the County possesses. It gives the answer to any question that may arise as to the part the County and its citizens played during one of the greatest crises in history."

Histories of Minneapolis and St. Anthony, originally published in the *St. Anthony Express* in November, 1855, are reproduced serially in the Sunday issues of the *Minneapolis Journal* during October. In addition to brief narrative histories, descriptions of institutions and business establishments of the pioneer cities are included. A business directory of Minneapolis, which forms part of the installment for October 22, is of special interest.

The celebration of "Minneapolis Week" from December 3 to 10 was the occasion for the appearance of many special articles in Minneapolis newspapers dealing with the population and industrial growth and numerous other aspects of the development of the city. The *Minneapolis Journal* for November 26 contains a number of brief statistical articles, with large emphasis upon "first things," for example, the first permanent dwelling, the first school, the first store, the first newspaper, and similar points intended to illustrate "how the city got its start." A "Minneapolis Essay," encircled by pictures and portraits of historical interest, is printed in the same newspaper for December 3. The *Minneapolis Tribune* for December 3 contains many interesting and valuable historical illustrations in its rotogravure section and several short historical notes on local history. Among the latter is an informing article entitled "Overcrowded School Rooms Known in '51," which deals with the early school history of Minneapolis. Valuable as are these issues, it is to be regretted that so little effort was made to secure original contributions to the city's history, such as old letters, diaries, and other documents.

In the *Minneapolis Tribune* of October 1 is an article entitled "City Founded 75 Years Ago Today by Ard Godfrey," wherein is recounted the familiar story of the arrival of Godfrey and others at the Falls of St. Anthony on October 1, 1847.

A fragmentary history of the contributions to the cultural life of Minneapolis of Mr. Thomas B. Walker, and, especially, of his famous art collection, appears in the *Minneapolis Tribune* for December 31. The story, from 1892 to the present, of the Central City Market of Minneapolis, which Mr. Walker helped to establish, is published in the *Minneapolis Journal* for December 31.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

COLLECTIONS, volume 1. Reprint of the *Annals* of the society published 1850–56, containing miscellaneous papers and sketches. 1902. xii, 430 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 2. Miscellaneous documents and papers. 1860–67. 294 p. Cloth, $3.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 3. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1870–80. viii, 433 p. Cloth, $5.00

COLLECTIONS, volume 4. *History of the City of St. Paul and County of Ramsey, Minnesota,* by J. Fletcher Williams. 1876. 475 p. Cloth, $8.00

COLLECTIONS, volume 5. *History of the Ojibway Nation,* by William W. Warren and Edward D. Neill. 1885. 535 p. Out of print

COLLECTIONS, volume 6. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1887–94. iv, 556 p. Cloth, $3.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 7. *The Mississippi River and Its Source,* by J. V. Brower. 1893. xv, 360 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 8. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1895–98. xii, 542 p. Cloth, $3.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 9. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1901. xiv, 694 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 10. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1905. xvi, viii, 938 p. in 2 parts. Cloth, $5.00

COLLECTIONS, volume 11. *Itasca State Park, an Illustrated History,* by J. V. Brower. 1905. 285 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 12. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1909. xx, 827 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 13. *Lives of the Governors of Minnesota,* by James H. Baker. 1908. xii, 480 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 14. *Minnesota Biographies, 1655–1912,* by Warren Upham and Mrs. Rose B. Dunlap. 1912. xxviii, 892 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 15. Miscellaneous papers, sketches, and memoirs. 1915. xv, 872 p. Cloth, $2.50

COLLECTIONS, volume 17. *Minnesota Geographic Names; Their Origin and Historic Significance,* by Warren Upham. 1920. viii, 735 p. Cloth, $3.50

THE ABORIGINES OF MINNESOTA: *A Report Based on the Collections of Jacob V. Brower, and on the Field Surveys and Notes of Alfred J. Hill and Theodore H. Lewis,* by N. H. Winchell. 1911. xiv, 761 p. quarto. ¾ leather, $5.00

MINNESOTA HISTORY BULLETIN, volumes 1, 2, 3, eight numbers each. Papers, documents, reviews, and notes. February, 1915–November, 1920. 590, 630, 587 p. Cloth, vol. 1, $5.00; vol. 2, $3.50; vol. 3, $3.50

A HISTORY OF MINNESOTA, by William Watts Folwell, volume 1. To the organization of the state in 1857. 1921. xxii, 533 p. Cloth, $5.00

The same in an edition limited to two hundred numbered copies, autographed by the author, and with a portrait of Father Hennepin inserted. ¾ leather, $10.00